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Page 12

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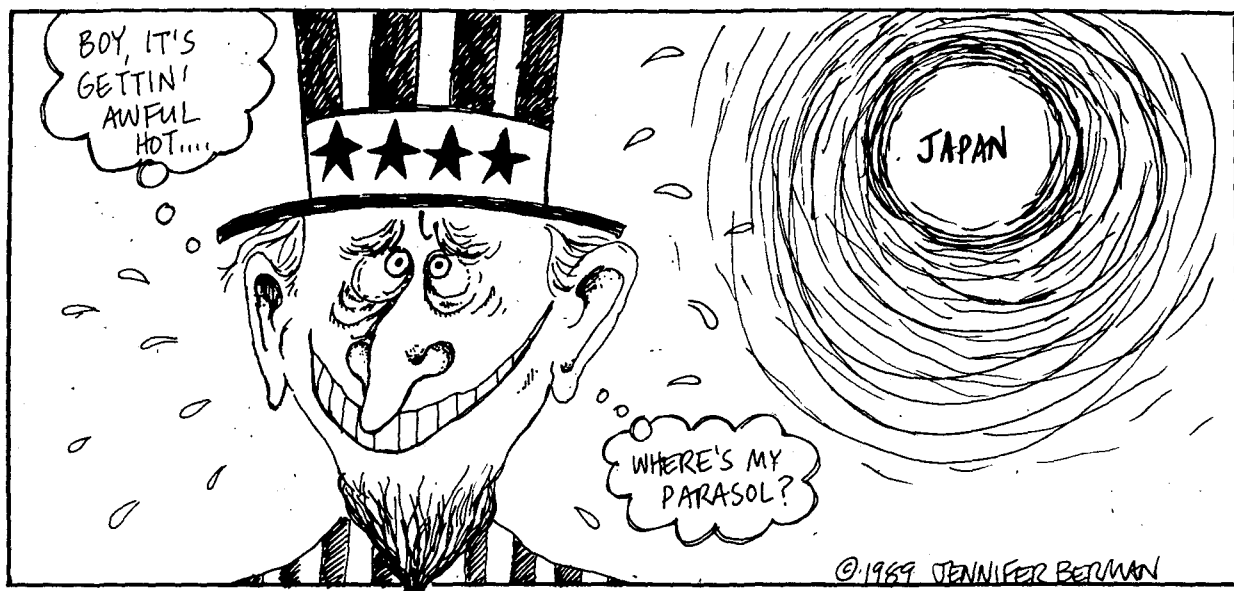
MALTA



**Out one era
and in the other**

**Diana Johnstone reports
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Bootleg Japanese book boffo on Beltway



By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

The most widely read book here this fall has not been sold in bookstores. *The Japan that Can Say "No"*, by Sony Chairman Akio Morita and prominent Japanese politician Shintaro Ishihara, was published in Japan this summer, but—at Morita's insistence—not in the U.S., even though an American publisher wanted it. Someone in Washington translated it, however, and photocopies of it began to circulate through the halls of Congress and the offices of the U.S. Trade Representative, the Pentagon and the Department of Commerce, where government officials have sought copies as eagerly as schoolboys used to covet pirated editions of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*.

The Japan that Can Say "No" has aroused interest primarily for its incendiary comments about U.S.-Japan relations. Written as a dialogue between its authors, the book accuses Americans of racism toward the Japanese and advocates that Japan take a much harder line in trade and security negotiations. Ishihara appears to favor Japan breaking the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and building its own nuclear deterrent. But the book also contains perceptive observations about American business and government.

Racial prejudice: Japan's apologists here, like *Washington Post* columnist Hobart Rowen, contend that the book is insignificant because Ishihara is a right-wing extremist without a significant following. But Morita, as Japan's most important industrialist—he has the same exalted status in Japan that Gen. Dwight Eisenhower had in the U.S. after World War II—bestows legitimacy on any endeavor in which he participates. Ishihara is also hard to dismiss. He is not a typical right-winger in the Ameri-

can mold but a militarist and a nationalist—one of whose favorite statesmen, as he acknowledges in the book, is Minora Genda, who helped plan the attack on Pearl Harbor. But Ishihara is also an environmentalist and a proponent of a paternalistic state capitalism. Moreover, in recent Japanese opinion polls, he runs third among popular choices for prime minister.

Morita and Ishihara address a real problem in U.S.-Japan negotiations. Since the U.S. has begun pressuring Japan to open up its markets, the two countries have reached several agreements—for instance, over semiconductors—that the Japanese have subsequently not lived up to. American negotiators charge betrayal, and the Japanese rest their defense on ambiguities within the agreement. Morita and Ishihara acknowledge that the problem lies in Japan's insistence on ambiguity. But while American negotiators want the Japanese to say "yes" unequivocally to U.S. demands, Morita and Ishihara want them to say "no."

The two men believe that the U.S. has consistently taken advantage of Japan in trade negotiations. Morita argues that when Toshiba sold advanced submarine parts to the Soviet Union—giving the Soviets a technology that cost the U.S. an estimated \$30 billion to counter—the U.S. should have been content to allow Japan to punish the companies. Ishihara thinks Japan should have scuttled the agreement with the U.S. to build an FSX fighter and built its own. "America wants to steal Japanese know-how," Ishihara charges.

The authors also believe that Americans have a racist attitude toward the Japanese. "American racial prejudice toward Japan is very fundamental, and we should always keep it in mind when dealing with the Americans. During World War II Americans bombed civilian targets in Germany, but only on Japan did they use the atomic bomb," Ishihara writes. "The fact that they actually dropped the atomic bomb on Japan is sufficient indication that racial prejudice was a factor."

American decline: Underlying their recommendations is the conviction that Japan is now the equal—if not the superior—of the U.S. on the world stage and must begin acting accordingly. Morita believes that the U.S. is doomed as an industrial power. "It is my feeling," he writes, "that even though times are good in America now and employment is up, the time will never again come when America will regain its strength in industry."

Ishihara argues that because of its lead in semiconductor technology, Japan now holds the military balance of power between the U.S. and Soviet Union. "If, for example, Japan sold chips to the Soviet Union and stopped selling them to the U.S., this would upset the entire military balance," Ishihara writes. "The more technology advances, the more the U.S. and the Soviet Union will become dependent upon the initiative of the Japanese people."

Morita urges the Japanese to recognize that "we are going to have a totally new configuration in the balance of power in the world." He wants Japanese negotiators to tell the U.S., "Please do not cling to the image that you are the superpower, but rather look for the way to get your economy on the road to recovery." Although Morita

wants the U.S. and Japan to remain close allies, Ishihara flirts with a radical break. He seems to favor Japanese nuclear-weapons development, wanting Japan to "develop the most persuasive and demonstrable deterrent formula which would, without any doubt, show our adversaries that any attack on Japan will end with unbearable damage to the aggressor from both a strategic and a tactical viewpoint."

Ishihara calls the idea that the U.S. protects Japan from the Soviet Union an "illusion," and attributes to "some business leaders" a train of thought that is undoubtedly his own. "Some of Japan's business leaders have long had an interest in Siberian development, which now appears to be a realistic possibility. Some of them are of the opinion that Japan could go neutral, revoking the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, if the Soviets will return the northern islands [the Kuriles, ceded to the Soviet Union in 1945], granted that Japan would be given the right to develop Siberian resources," he writes. Such a strategy, far from being extreme, becomes more feasible as the Cold War winds down.

Both men conceive of Japan assuming a leadership role in Asia—a prospect feared and resisted by other Asian nations who recall Japan's "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" of the '30s. "I should avoid the expression 'leadership,' but Japan has begun to assume that role as a center in Asia," Morita writes. In a recent interview with *Time*, Ishihara put it more bluntly: "Japan's franchise is Asia."

"Money games": Like other Japanese critics, they blame American trade problems on American business practices. Many of their points are well taken. Morita attacks American business leaders for playing "money games" and scoffs at American confidence in its service sector. "When people forget how to produce goods, and that appears to be the case in America, they will not be

INSIDE STORY

able to supply themselves even with their most basic needs," he writes. "A shift from high-technology industry to quick profits from the money game will only serve to accelerate the degeneration of the country."

He acknowledges that the U.S. is still capable of important technological discoveries, but he believes that it is losing its ability to turn these discoveries into marketable products and that the link among scientific creativity, production and marketing has been lost. He finds it difficult to understand why the U.S. does not have a "Department of Industry" that develops an overall plan of action. American business' "view of the government as the enemy seems strange," Morita writes.

He contrasts Japan's system of lifetime employment with the employment practices of American companies. Most American business leaders, Morita writes, regard workers as "mere tools that they can use to assure profits and then dump whenever the market sags." He urges the U.S. to "first do something to protect the human rights of workers in America before they start asking other nations to protect and enhance the human rights of their citizens."

Morita and Ishihara also write perceptively about American overseas activities. Ishihara mocks the U.S. strategy of propping up the Philippine government through foreign aid. Where American aid officials generally blame either poverty or communists for the government's problems, Ishihara gets to the heart of the problem: "The cause of social turmoil there," he writes, "is the role of the landowners. Philippine landowners have accumulated incredible power and wealth, siphoning everything from the ordinary people."

Their book would be worth reading simply for its insights into American business and foreign policy. But it also provides an important warning of how many top Japanese leaders are beginning to reconceptualize U.S.-Japan relations in the wake of American industrial decline and the Cold War's end. It's a shame that Americans outside of Washington won't get a chance to read this book.

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By David Moberg

WILL THE WINDS OF CHANGE IN EASTERN Europe blow a big "peace dividend" toward the U.S. economy? It might seem inevitable, but it isn't.

The grossly exaggerated Soviet threat to Western Europe, the rationale for at least 60 percent of the U.S. military budget, has nearly evaporated. And American public sentiment has shifted overwhelmingly: three-fourths of those polled even earlier this year favored a defense freeze or cuts. Even hawkish Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, who earlier this year denied that the Soviet threat was declining, asked the armed services in late November to recommend "cuts" of \$180 billion over four years.

After the Reagan years, during which real (inflation-adjusted) military spending rose 35 percent in the biggest peacetime arms buildup in U.S. history, this may all seem too good to be true. And, in a sense, it is.

New political opportunities to cut spending and redefine the U.S. world role have been created by three developments: the Gorbachovian revolution in Soviet-bloc politics; federal budget pressures; and a growing recognition of urgent public needs for environmental protection, education, housing, transportation and basic infrastructure.

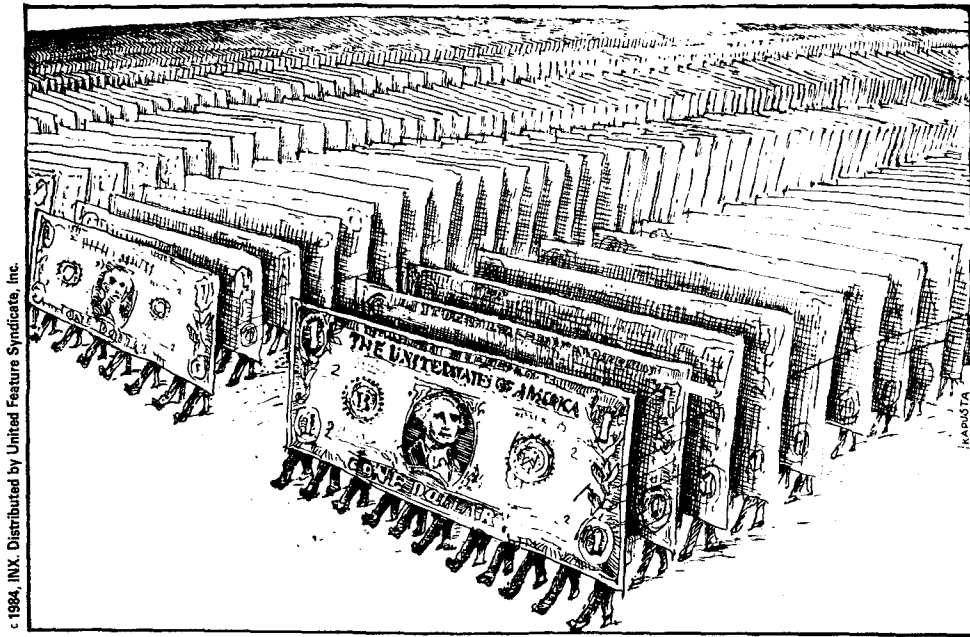
Cheney's non-specific call for cuts is a preemptive first strike to head off more serious budget-trimming, argues David Johnson, research director at the Center for Defense Information. The reductions would all come from planned increases of \$200 billion in nominal spending, not from current spending levels. Thus the "cut" turns out to be a very small increase.

Nevertheless, this near-freeze in spending at around the current level of \$300 billion a year would mean a decline in real spending by a little less than the rate of inflation—3 to 4 percent a year or \$85 billion over four to five years, according to Marion Anderson, director of Employment Research Associates. Congress, driven mainly by deficit-reduction goals, has already embarked on this path; real defense outlays peaked in 1987 and have declined by 6.4 percent since then.

Wielding the ax: But the pressure to cut is likely to build, swamping Cheney's preemptive move. "As long as the world situation continues to evolve as it is, there's no chance Cheney can restrict Pentagon cuts to the levels he's talking about," says Leo Reddy, a longtime defense strategist, now president of the National Coalition for Flexible Manufacturing. Over the past year, conservative as well as liberal defense experts have proposed military-spending cuts of up to half of present levels in six to eight years (former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's plan).

William Kaufmann, a defense expert at the Brookings Institution, Harvard and MIT, has drawn up one of the most detailed plans for cutting the military budget in half—to about \$160 billion in today's dollars—by the year 2000. In the first stage, the budget would be cut in ways that guarantee defense programs don't block further moves to disarmament. The next stage would focus on NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional and nuclear reductions, followed by a stage of nuclear, naval and other conventional reductions outside Europe.

Kaufmann's first stage would cancel or



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'Peace dividend' battle just starting to brew

defer production of, but permit reduced research on, the next generation of weapons sought by the Pentagon: the B-2 bomber, MX and Midgetman missiles, "Star Wars," LHX helicopter, SSN-21 attack submarine, DDG-51 destroyer, V-22 Osprey, Advanced Tactical Aircraft and C-17 airlift plane. Second-stage reductions would flow from the START and conventional arms talks now underway. The third stage would result in continued reductions in strategic weapons and conventional arms but place a greater emphasis on reductions in force structure, or personnel. After this stage, the U.S. would rely mainly on much-reduced submarine-based missiles for nuclear deterrence.

Nearly all of the recent defense-reduction proposals involve a steady, slow-to-moderate winding down of projects rather than quick demobilization or instant cancellation of them. But Gordon Adams, director of the independent policy research group Defense Budget Project, says that Cheney and the military will probably favor initial cuts in spending on personnel and for operational readiness and then "draw the budgetary wagons around hardware," preferring to slow the pace of acquiring weapons to canceling them altogether. Adams predicts Congress will also choose to save weapons programs; this year it even restored two weapons systems Cheney tried to kill, the F-14 fighter and Osprey.

But Adams, Kaufmann and many other military analysts prefer cutting new weapons systems first. Given the changing political-military environment, it's not clear which—if any—of the new weapons are needed. For example, in a secret study recently leaked to the *Washington Post*, even the Defense Department acknowledged—before the collapse of Eastern European Communist governments—that the Soviets could not launch an immediate attack on Western Europe. So even if U.S. troops are withdrawn from Europe, the new C-17 airlift troop plane may be unnecessary. Starting new weapons systems can also complicate arms-reduction talks now underway, and since each new weapon is certain to cost at least twice what is projected, retaining these new weapons will bring added budget pressures in a few

years.

Changes in attitude: Kaufmann's proposal also has the merit of linking cuts with strategy changes, according to Adams. The two old pillars of NATO, stopping the Soviets and containing a rearmed Germany, have become irrelevant or politically embarrassing. "You have to relate strategic policy and budgets," says Adams. "We are now in such a sea change in international relations that the questions [of the U.S. world role] must be posed for the first time since 1948 or 1968," when the anti-war movement challenged U.S. policy.

Although military apologists are already raising the specter of a Soviet coup or insisting that the totalitarian threat hasn't died, other rationales for the military are more likely to take precedence: rapid deployment for Third World intervention, fighting drugs or terrorists, protecting Middle East oil, or other naked economic interests. The Army will probably sustain large cuts, but the Marines and Navy are likely to be winners as the U.S. tries to continue projecting global power.

The defense cuts must be linked to an economic strategy as well as a new political one. With yearly attrition of 6 to 7 percent in the armed forces, troop cuts may have less economic impact than weapons cuts, since each \$1 billion in weapons spending

Where should the money saved by military cuts be spent? What is the best route from wartime to peacetime production?

accounts for about 40,000 to 50,000 jobs. If there are big procurement cuts, the unemployment impact will be mainly regional, hitting the coastal areas that have boomed because of defense spending. The military buildup in the '80s helped to mask the extent of U.S. deindustrialization, so defense cuts will make alternative industrial plans critical.

Two big economic debates will emerge

over any military savings: where should the "peace dividend" be spent, and what strategy best facilitates a transition from war to peacetime production? "The way is now open for a big coalition for rebuilding America," argues Seymour Melman of Columbia University, a longtime advocate of planned conversion of military production, "because the congressional game of bringing home money for jobs and income through the Department of Defense is out of steam. Military Keynesianism is out of fuel."

Budgetary conservatives will instead try to use defense savings for federal budget-deficit reduction. But it is unclear whether deficit-cutting would lower interest rates and thus spur the economy; cutting the deficit could even worsen any emerging recession.

Also, many traditionally conservative business leaders want part of any peace dividend to go for new government investment in high-tech research, new manufacturing technologies and improvement of transit and infrastructure. Reddy claims Republican ideological conservatives are the main obstacle to such investment.

DARPA (Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency) has been the main federal vehicle for subsidizing high-tech research, but now many analysts want any new research funds to be channeled through either different civilian departments or a new civilian counterpart to DARPA—a move DARPA is fighting. Yet left analysts of the military economy, like economist Ann Markusen of Rutgers and former military engineer Joel Yudkin, argue that any new investment should focus not primarily on isolated advanced technologies but rather on basic social needs such as housing, environmental protection and transportation.

Stimulating research may not in itself be sufficient to make the transition. Defense industries have done research in part because they had guaranteed markets, and Markusen argues that public investment will be needed to develop the new alternative markets. Midwest manufacturers of autos, cement, metals, appliances and machine tools could benefit as much as converted coastal arms manufacturers from a renewed peacetime economy, *Business Week* magazine predicts, but Markusen sees a need for new sources of demand such as federal spending or less-developed countries freed of their debt burdens.

Transitional battles: Even defense-spending critics do not completely agree on how to make the transition. Melman, the Machinists union and many other groups support conversion legislation introduced by Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) that would mandate all defense plants to organize worker-management committees two years in advance of military-contract cancellation to develop alternative uses for the facilities. Other proposals such as those introduced by Reps. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT) and Nicholas Mavroules (D-MA) would provide only advance notice to employees, community economic-adjustment planning and job networks, not income support or relocation allowances. House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt appears ready to take up the cause of conversion, which wilted when its patron, Jim Wright, resigned as speaker of the House.

Although economic conservatives favor leaving transition to the marketplace, conversion advocates argue that doing so may

Continued on page 22

INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

Treasure hunt

Fraternity boys are an adventurous lot, so they go on a lot of trips. Take the DKEs, the guys at Delta Kappa Epsilon. Dan Quayle was a DKE at DePauw University. In 1968, Quayle's DKE house had a theme party called "The Trip"—described in the university yearbook as "a colorful psychedelic journey into the wild sights and sounds produced by LSD" and the first party at which a DKE housemother was not present. In the more pedestrian '80s, eight DKE pledges at Virginia Polytechnic Institute recently took a road trip. The exact nature of the instructions the big brothers gave the pledges before they left Blacksburg, Va., is unclear, but they went something like this: "Your mission, now that you have decided to join this fraternity, is to get your butt on the road and obtain a photograph of you kissing a black girl." The DKE's road trip ended in Gambier, Ohio, at Kenyon College. According to the *Kenyon Collegian*, the white polytechnic students "subsequently initiated a racial incident against a black female Kenyon student at the DKE party Saturday night [November 11]." According to university officials, the incident's only casualty was a guy who got agitated and thrust his arm through a glass window. But a source at the *Kenyon Collegian* newsroom said the injury resulted from an early-morning brawl between black students and the visiting Virginians. The Knox County sheriff department was called in to help the campus security force restore order and escort the marauding pledges to their cars. Back at old Virginia Tech, the university administration stripped DKE of its university affiliation.

A point of light

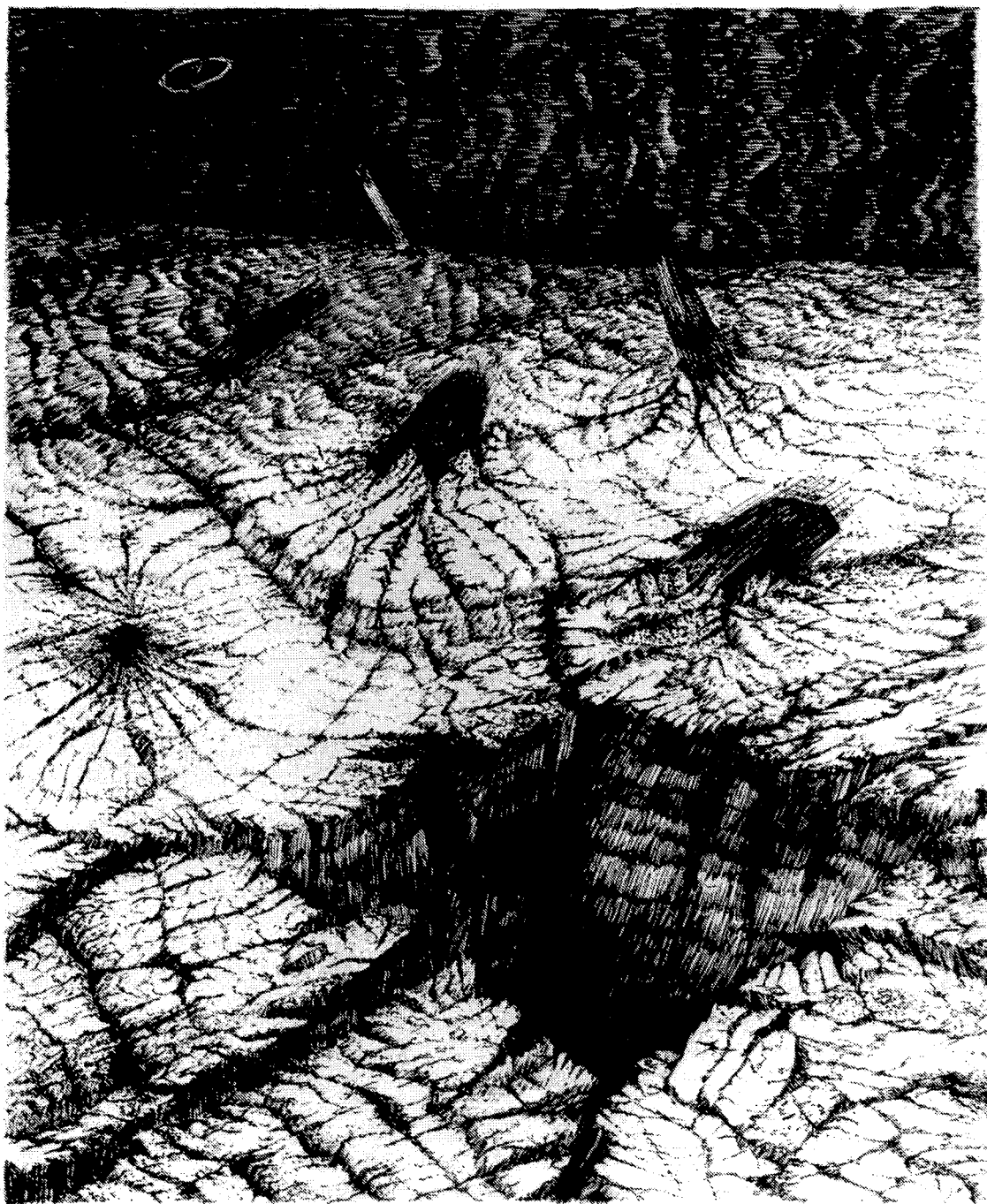
INFACT's boycott against General Electric has hit the corporate giant in the bulbs. Last week the nation's third-largest discount store, Target, began stocking lightbulbs other than those made by GE. For 27 years Target has had an exclusive sales contract with GE. According to INFACT, more than 16,000 Target shoppers lobbied the store asking it to sell non-GE lightbulbs. Says INFACT Executive Director Nancy Cole, "Alternatives are on Target's shelves because boycotters demanded a choice." INFACT is boycotting GE to pressure the company to abandon nuclear-weapons production. GE, which makes components for more nuclear-weapons systems than any other corporation, manufactures the neutron generator, a device that serves as the trigger for every hydrogen bomb.

Bad bolts

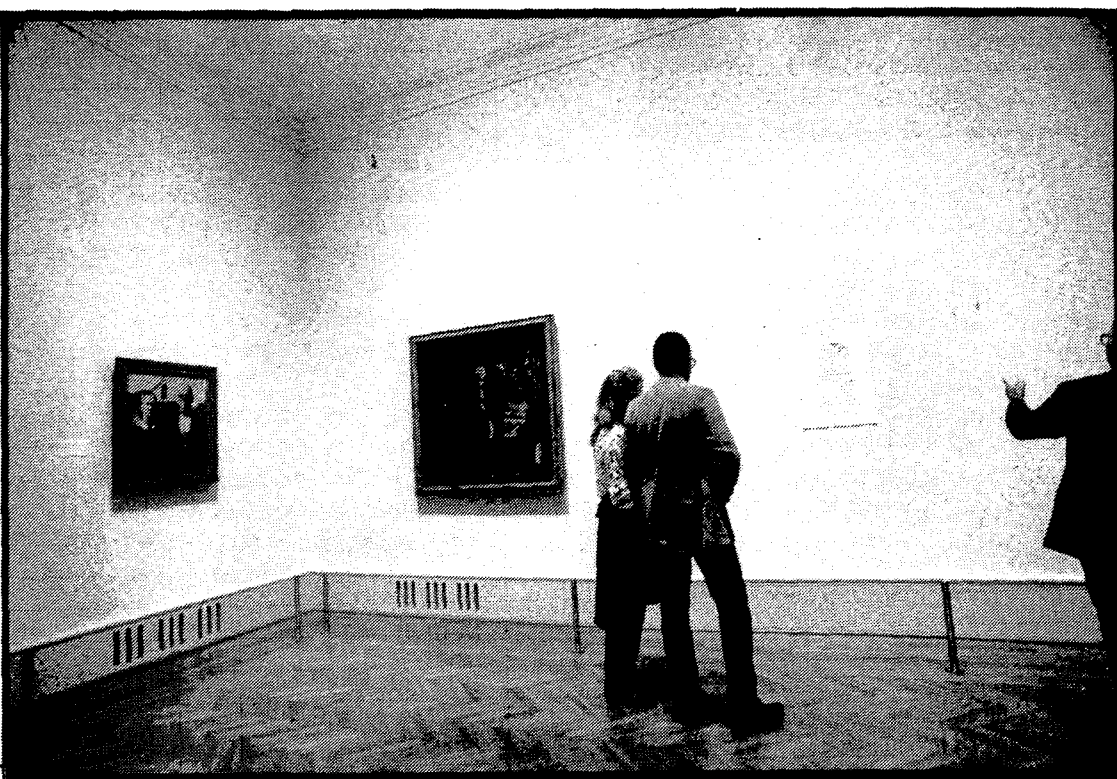
Bad things have come to light about General Electric. Peter Karl of WMAQ-TV, the NBC affiliate in Chicago, recently reported: "General Electric engineers discovered they had a big problem—one out of [every] three bolts from one of their major suppliers was bad." It seems these bolts hold together GE-manufactured engine components that are used in building B-1 bombers, Stealth bombers, nuclear power plants and a variety of civilian aircraft. GE had been buying the bad bolts for eight years without having any certification from the supplier that they are strong enough to do the job. And it turns out they aren't. Remember that it was a GE engine that failed over Iowa last July, spewing its human cargo into the cornfields. TWA, American Airlines, Pan Am, Air France and United Airlines have all used bad bolts from the same supplier. The National Transportation Safety Board, after studying plane and helicopter crashes during a four-year period, discovered that 75 of those accidents involved nut-and-bolt failure. The picture is just as bleak in the nuclear-power industry. According to the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, defective bolts have been used in half of the nuclear plants in the U.S.

Bad reporting

The nuts and bolts of journalism are likewise faulty at GE/NBC headquarters in New York. After its debut in Chicago, Peter Karl's investigative report was aired on NBC's *Today* show. But network producers edited it first, removing all references to General Electric. The *Washington Post's* Tom Shales reports that Karl and others in Chicago didn't appreciate the New York editing. "People here were furious," said Karl. "I mean they were furious." NBC News Vice President Tom Ross denies that his network changed the news to protect its corporate parent. He told Shales, "We scrupulously abide by our own objectivity, and we would never, ever, do it." Of course Ross did notify GE's central command that Karl's report—in its NBC-improved version that made no mention



Have a nice day: Shell Oil is preparing for the greenhouse effect to kick in and the oceans to start to rise. The *Times* of London reports that the company's recent decision to raise the platform will increase construction costs by \$1.6 million to \$3.2 million. The platform is expected to last 70 years, plenty of time for the polar ice caps to melt and the sea to rise. Perceptions of this environmental danger need to be awakened, and that is the task of "The End Of Weather As We Know It," an exhibition running through December 22 at Chicago's Randolph Street Gallery. The show examines the greenhouse effect and, as the exhibit brochure explains, "considers the possibility that the fundamental shifts in weather caused by recent and ongoing environmental disregard may be exerting gradual and profound influence on the human condition and inner psyche." *Expulsion and Nucano* by B.J. Ganoe, makes the Dust Bowl days look like a fine time for a picnic.



No Nighthawks: Beginning last year, the World Health Organization designated each December 1 "AIDS Awareness Day." To mark the occasion Visual AIDS, a group of art professionals, sponsored "A Day Without Art" to honor and recognize friends and colleagues who have died or are dying. Almost all major museums participated in the event, including the Art Institute of Chicago, which removed Edward Hopper's *Nighthawks*, one of the museum's biggest draws.

University of Wisconsin may dishonorably discharge ROTC

MADISON, WIS.—The University of Wisconsin (UW) -Madison's 2,400 faculty members voted last week, 61 percent to 39 percent, to ban the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) from campus because of the U.S. military's discrimination against gays and lesbians.

The advisory vote of the faculty general assembly climaxes a protracted struggle at the nation's fourth-largest university. Wisconsin is one of only two states that prohibit discrimination against gays and lesbians. Many hope—and others fear—that the vote will signal the removal of ROTC from campus and eventually result in a confrontation between the U.S. Defense Department (DOD) and the public university that receives the most federal research dollars.

The UW-Madison administration newspaper, *Wisconsin Week*, recently reported national ROTC officials as saying, "UW-Madison is the only campus where ROTC is in clear danger of being asked to leave." In 1979 the UW-Madison faculty senate issued a statement condemning the fact that lesbians and gays in the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force ROTC programs cannot receive financial aid, cannot become instructors and cannot become commissioned officers

upon graduation. The statement called for the UW administration to pressure Congress and the DOD to change the discriminatory policy. In April 1987, the UW system board of regents, which represents all of Wisconsin's 26 public colleges and has the power to cancel the ROTC contract with the DOD, endorsed the statement.

"The state of Wisconsin has said discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is against our convictions, the UW faculty senate has said it, the regents have said it. There is a paradox here that ROTC continues to function," says Joseph Elder, UW-Madison professor of sociology and co-chair of Faculty Against Discrimination in University Programs.

ROTC administrators respond that the DOD is to blame. Pentagon policy prohibits homosexuals from serving in the military. Capt. Gary Beck, professor of naval science and commander of Navy ROTC, says he just follows national policy, but he believes discrimination against homosexuals to be acceptable. Beck says the ROTC is being unfairly picked on. "No other department at this university guarantees a job [upon graduation]," he says.

Last spring the Wisconsin Student Association (WSA), the university's student government, overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for ROTC to be kicked off campus if it didn't change its policy. "It is a disgusting policy. These people who endorse it are simply homophobic,

functional bigots," says Jordan Marsh, WSA university affairs director and senior-class president.

A 1988 DOD report provides evidence that bigotry fuels ROTC policy. Conducted by the Defense Personnel Security Research and Education Center (PERSEREC), the report identified unsupported and contradictory beliefs about homosexuals held by military authorities and called for reconsideration of exclusionary policy. It pointed out that in classical Greece, "homosexual bonds between soldiers were considered an asset to the performance of the fighting man in terms of patriotism and military courage." It found no scientific evidence that gays and lesbians pose a security risk to the military because of their sexual orientation. The report's findings and recommendations—made public only after pressure from Reps. Gerry Studds (D-MA) and Pat Schroeder (D-CO)—were rejected by the DOD. As a Pentagon spokesperson told the *New York Times*, "The report was not responsive to the original research request."

The faculty vote represents a victory for the anti-ROTC forces at this traditionally liberal university. It is now up to the board of regents to decide whether to act upon the faculty's advice. It is hoped that the board will allow UW-Madison to further alienate itself from the bigoted verities of U.S. society and stick up unequivocally for gay and lesbian rights.

—Michael Leon

A nuclear disaster that wasn't

A resident of Hospitalet de l'Infant, a small town in the province of Tarragona in eastern Spain, looked out her window on October 19 at 9:44 p.m. A column of smoke was billowing from the nearby Vandellós 1 nuclear plant. Worried, she phoned the civil guard in Tarragona, 30 kilometers to the north. "Have you heard anything about Vandellós 1?" she asked. "It's giving off a lot of smoke."

According to the Spanish daily *El País*, within minutes firemen from three surrounding towns were on their way to the nuclear plant. They did not know what sort of fire they were rushing to confront.

Meanwhile, the provincial government decided to enact Tarragona's Nuclear Emergency Plan. In Tivissa, local officials were in a meeting. The phone rang. The caller asked for the mayor, Fermín Pellicer, a communist. "I didn't like the tone in which they told me of the fire at all," he said. "They normally try to minimize [the seriousness of] these incidents, but I detected some confusion."

At the plant, thick black smoke had entered the control center through the ventilation system, making it impossible to see. Some of the technicians fled. Others put on oxygen masks and set up fans to clear

the smoke away. One technician called his wife at home. "Close the windows," he said. "Vandellós is burning."

The damage was centered in two of eight turbogenerators that power the plant's cooling system. The re-



frigeration unit's hydrogen had mixed with the air, sparking the fire. If the turbogenerators had failed, a meltdown could have occurred and large amounts of radioactivity could have leaked from the reactor into the atmosphere.

The firemen dumped water on

the building that houses the cooling system. "The reactor's going!" yelled technicians. "The reactor's going!" According to Amposta fire chief Josep Pino, the plant's personnel offered little technical assistance in fighting the fire. "The technicians constantly told us, 'Spray over here!' and 'No, over there!'"

Two hours later the fire was brought under control. But the danger had not yet passed. Eduardo Gil, an engineer with the Spanish Council of Nuclear Security, told a press conference. "The most serious threat was not the flames but several feet of water that could have caused even worse damage to the cooling system."

In the end, the reactor did not suffer any damage. Another Chernobyl was avoided. But the fire may have put Vandellós 1 out of business for good. According to José María Martínez Val, a nuclear physics professor in Madrid, repairing the plant would not be profitable.

Political reaction to the fire was almost immediate. Four mayors from surrounding towns have asked that both Vandellós plants be closed permanently. Vandellós 2 suffered three fires in 1988, although none were as serious as the recent fire at Vandellós 1. Says Martínez Val, "It is impossible to make a totally safe nuclear plant."

—Kevin O'Donnell

of GE—was going to run on *Today*. It's brownie points like that that help one get ahead in the corporate world. Not that there was anything unusual about the advance notification—it appears that NBC news regularly alerts the subjects of its reports in advance of their airing. Ross told Shales, "We've done that for lots of people—other companies, political figures." One imagines that Ross' list is a long one that most likely includes political figures with ties to other companies, corporate figures with ties to political figures, corporate figures with ties to other companies, etc. GE weaves a tangled web. The company has one of the largest lobbies in Washington. In 1988, it employed about 150 people in its Washington office. (Exxon, by contrast, had 13.) Between 1980 and 1986, GE contributed to more political campaigns than any other of the top 10 weapons contractors. And GE executives and board members sit on several governmental advisory committees, including the Advisory Panel on New Ballistic Missile Defense Technologies (Star Wars) and the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. No doubt the latter is helping bring Big Brother to life.

It's a tradition

GE is not new to the censorship business. During the '50s and '60s, the company regularly interfered with the program content of *GE Theater*. Ronald Reagan once recalled the time when, employed by the company as its spokesman, "We came up with an exciting half-hour play based on the danger to a planeload of passengers lost in the fog with all instruments out of whack." Said Reagan, "We needed someone to remind us GE made those instruments, sold them to the airlines, and [that] airlines would consider it tactless if GE told umpteen million potential passengers they might land the hard way."

What do you want? We cut the kiss

Over at ABC they are having trouble coming to terms with the *thirtysomething* lifestyle. Last month, the ABC drama, which in its third year has garnered a cult following, showed a love scene between two male characters. According to a report by the *New York Times* Geraldine Fabrikant, corporate advertisers who pre-screened the episode withdrew \$1.5 million in ads. Fabrikant's unnamed source "declined to identify the advertisers" who apparently objected to two men being seen "in bed together after lovemaking." One of these men, actor David Marshall Grant, who plays the reoccurring character Russell, an artist friend of Michael's cousin Melissa, told *Entertainment Tonight* that ABC censors had previously cut a scene where the two men kissed. Spokespersons for ABC and *thirtysomething* are reticent to speak about the controversy. Kim Reed, the spokesman for *thirtysomething's* co-producers, MGM and Bedford Falls Company, would only say, "There is really no reason to speak on it. The show aired. It is over." But he did say that it has yet to be determined whether Russell will "reoccur" next season. A more candid appraisal came from Molly, the receptionist at *thirtysomething's* Bedford Falls office who declined to give her last name. "It was a general consensus when they decided to do that show that the gay lifestyle is something very present in the U.S. It is a part of our society, and obviously we did not feel there was anything wrong with showing it in our episode. It was something we did knowing that there would be controversy over it." ABC in New York would not confirm that the \$1.5 million in ads had been pulled. A network spokesperson told *In These Times*, "As a general policy we do not give out figures." But a source at ABC said the network should be commended for showing the program, especially at a time when the TV industry and its corporate advertisers are under such intense pressure from Christian fundamentalists and others in the Helms brigade. But in this case, such pressure did not materialize. ABC received about 400 calls on the episode, most of them complimentary, contrary to previously published reports.

News clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes, raw gossip—send them all to "In Short," *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647. Include your address and phone number.

By Salim Muwakkil

THE UNPRECEDENTED ELECTORAL VICTORIES of black candidates across the country have failed to change a growing perception within the black community that African-Americans are leaderless. Among activists—especially college-aged black youth—it has become de rigueur to deliver harsh criticisms of current black leadership at the slightest provocation. As an alternative, the stern figure of Malcolm X has been exhumed and re-anointed as the preferred leader for the '90s. But many see

BLACK AMERICA

the folly of that "back to the future" leadership, and in lieu of a dead martyr they are settling on a live Louis Farrakhan as the most Malcolm-like of today's leaders.

The controversial leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) attracts enormous crowds wherever he speaks. And while Farrakhan traditionally has received his warmest welcome from those we now call the black underclass, his popularity these days seems strongest among blacks on college campuses. In venue after venue, the pattern is the same: widespread protests (Jewish groups are particularly angered by his popularity and often lead the protests) follow news of Farrakhan's scheduled appearance; large audiences of African-Americans welcome him when he does appear.

His status as a modern-day Malcolm X is a development rife with irony: Farrakhan was one of Malcolm's most persistent detractors during the late firebrand's bitter feud with NOI patriarch Elijah Muhammad. In fact, Farrakhan wrote that Malcolm was "worthy of death" in the December 1964 edition of *Muhammad Speaks*, the NOI's now-defunct house organ. Two months later, Malcolm was assassinated, almost certainly by NOI members. But those with a limited historical scope can't recognize the cold deceit involved in Farrakhan's appropriation of Malcolm's persona.

Leadership void: That is not to say there are no similarities between the two. Both men were devoted students of the late Muhammad; Farrakhan once served as Malcolm's lieutenant in the NOI's Boston headquarters. It's obvious that Farrakhan fashioned his speaking style from that of his former boss. Both held the post of Elijah Muhammad's national representative. More importantly, Farrakhan's positions on most domestic and international issues—save the NOI's genetic theology—virtually echo those of Malcolm.

The public focus on politics and conciliatory black candidates has whetted an appetite in the African-American community for the kind of uncompromising leadership long identified with the NOI. Farrakhan's doctrine is designed to attract the disillusioned, and the public mood during this period of racial retrenchment is enhancing his allure. For many black Americans, the NOI chief's strident voice seems particularly appropriate to the times.

His nominally successful application of collective economics and the sense of moral rectitude displayed by his disciples strike responsive chords among those haplessly witnessing the continued deterioration of the nation's inner cities. The NOI's success in rehabilitating substance abusers and

Malcolm X: his black leadership mantle has been taken over by Louis Farrakhan.

Do Muslims' accomplishments excuse their racist rhetoric?

cleaning up drug-infested neighborhoods has added another dimension of credibility to the group and its methods.

The D.C. dilemma: Even NOI critics applaud its value as a corrective to the drug-induced carnage taking place in too many African-American communities. But does commending the group's good works somehow sanction its racist doctrine? Two recent examples illustrate the scope of this dilemma.

The Washington, D.C., City Council passed a resolution in October commending Farrakhan and the NOI for effectively halting the rampant drug abuse that once plagued the Mayfair Mansions and Paradise Garden housing developments. Before the NOI began patrolling the complexes, drug gangs terrorized project residents, despite the efforts of the district's police force. According to most reports, the Black Muslim security force has wiped out all but the barest remnants of drug commerce, and managers of other troubled complexes in the nation's murder capital are formulating plans to bring the group into their neighborhoods.

The resolution honoring the NOI for its work was introduced by council member Harry Thomas and passed by a voice vote of 10 members of the 13-member council. Despite the NOI's undisputed success in cleaning up the neighborhood in this drug-drenched city, the council action ignited a firestorm of protest around the country. Thomas' resolution was roundly condemned in editorials in the mainstream media and by pundits spanning the political spectrum.

In an October 26 *Washington Post* column headlined "Clown Council," Mary McGrory wrote, "Some blacks profess to be able to overlook the inflammatory remarks of Farrakhan and company because they preach self-discipline and fight drugs, which they regard as more toxic than anti-Semitism. This is a debatable point." McGrory further ridiculed the D.C. body for allowing the resolution to pass, and she upbraided Thomas for introducing it. Her viewpoint was typical, and the criticism was not limited to white

pundits. Black *Post* columnist William Raspberry was similarly critical of the council's action.

The controversy—which reached far beyond the district's boundaries—forced other council members to withdraw their support for the resolution. Some even attempted to rewrite history by denying they had earlier supported it, though council records indicated otherwise. The torrent of ridicule failed to daunt Thomas' defense of the resolution.

Anti-drug success: In a letter to the *Post*, Thomas wrote, "I cannot speak for other black politicians, but as for Harry Thomas, I unequivocally support the minister [Farrakhan] and the Nation of Islam in their efforts to stem the tide of drugs in our neighborhood. My feelings in this regard are so unflinching that I would, for once, even give unequivocal support to the *Post* for its drug-fighting efforts ... if the *Post* undertook such efforts."

Thomas' stance was hailed by much of Washington's black media, most of which ardently support the NOI's anti-drug efforts.

The Nation of Islam's success in cleaning up inner-city drug problems has lent credibility to the group and its methods.

The councilman presented the resolution to Farrakhan during a special October appearance at the D.C. armory as an overflow crowd of more than 12,000 people looked on.

The Chicago City Council was the venue for a similar confrontation in late September between black and white legislators over a resolution introduced by black Alderman Allan Streeter proposing to change the name of a South Side thoroughfare from Stony Island Avenue to Elijah Muhammad Boulevard. That street is the location of Muhammad's headquarters mosque. Streeter said his pro-

posal was an effort to honor Muhammad for his inspirational leadership of thousands of African-Americans. White aldermen, however, questioned the propriety of naming a street for someone who preached "racial hatred."

Testifying against the measure, Barry Morrison, the regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said Muhammad's teachings were "separatist, anti-white, anti-mainstream black, anti-Christian and anti-Jewish." While Muhammad may be an inspiration to some, Morrison said, "his views are anathema to too many others to warrant naming a major public thoroughfare after him."

All 18 black aldermen disagreed with Morrison's conclusion, though some were more equivocal than others. One of the most equivocal voices was that of Alderman Timothy Evans, a former mayoral candidate and standard-bearer of the Harold Washington Party. "The city has named streets after people from every walk of life ... including slave owners," Evans said. "Muhammad had a profound impact on people of this community, many who might otherwise be on drugs or unemployed. While one may not agree with everything he had to say, I think those people want to see their inspirational leader immortalized that way." Evans said he was inclined to support the bill.

Daley and the NOI: Bill supporters missed a rare opportunity to use the voice of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley to bolster their case. In a city proclamation declaring Feb. 26, 1975, "Nation of Islam Day in Chicago," the late boss eloquently made their argument. "The Nation of Islam has served the community with a solid program of social reform that has been responsible for assisting black people all over America," the proclamation read, "and [it] has exalted the basic family unit and developed an educational system which teaches dignity, self-respect and accomplishment in a drug-free, low-delinquency environment."

The proclamation heaped paragraphs of praise on the NOI and "the Honorable Elijah Muhammad." Muhammad just missed his day in Chicago; he died on Feb. 25, 1975. But if the late mayor could find enough redeeming qualities in the NOI program to sponsor a proclamation honoring the group, it seems the white aldermen who comprise the scattered remnants of his vaunted machine also could.

And although Farrakhan has assumed leadership of the group, his approach differs little from that of his mentor. In fact, his legitimacy as NOI leader is measured by his strict fidelity to Muhammad's message. Farrakhan's problems with Jewish leaders are more a legacy of his involvement with Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign, where tensions between segments of the two communities reached a boiling point, than a specific doctrinal animus toward Jews.

Many African-Americans see Farrakhan's NOI as an oasis in the midst of unending despair. Frustrated community activists concede that the group's crusade for black pride and economic self-sufficiency, its program against drugs and dissolute lifestyles, are grabbing the attention of the urban underclass like nothing else. Residents of this country's beleaguered inner cities have long watched the NOI transform menacing sociopaths into somber workaholics, and many of them have concluded that if it takes a little racist rhetoric to effect such a welcome metamorphosis, the trade-off is worth it. □

By Paul Hockenos

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

Hungarian plebiscite opens field for elections

THE PARTIES IN HUNGARY'S FIRST DEMOCRATIC vote since 1947 looked like old hands at electoral politics late last month as they contested a popular referendum that will ultimately determine the shape of the country's post-Communist political system. In a campaign complete with media hype, back-room deals and more than its share of mud slinging, a maverick coalition of new opposition parties outmaneuvered the government as well as the strongest opposition group, Democratic Forum, to pave the way for post-war Hungary's first independent government. With

EAST BLOC

the opposition now formally split, the field is wide open for the spring elections.

The November 26 result dashed the ruling party's hopes for a quick presidential victory. By a narrow majority—6,000 votes, or a margin of less than 1 percent—Hungarian citizens voted to postpone the presidential election scheduled for January 7 until after multiparty parliamentary elections, most likely now in March. A January vote would have given the ruling Socialist Party (HSP) candidate, President Imre Pozsgay, a decided advantage over opposition parties in the HSP's last chance to hold on to its privileged position within the government.

The result of the referendum not only buys the opposition more time to organize, it also prioritizes the role and powers of the parliament over those of the president. Although the president may still be elected by a direct vote rather than by the parliament—as the opposition alliance initially proposed—the president's powers will be substantially reduced. The new office will be largely ceremonial, similar to those in Austria or West Germany. The HSP and Democratic Forum favored a strong presidential post with the power to dissolve parliament, command the armed forces and call elections.

Failed attempt: Under Pozsgay's leadership, the HSP's "radical" reform wing made sweeping concessions to the opposition at round-table talks this fall in an attempt to secure an early election date. Considered a skillful politician by some and an unabashed opportunist by others, Pozsgay is the only nationally known officeholder who still had enough of the old party apparatus and finances behind him to ensure the party a leading role in a coalition government.

Over the past few months, HSP reformers had engineered drastic changes within the party in a last-ditch effort to restore some credibility to its unpopular image. Since the Pozsgay faction took charge at the party congress in October, out-muscling both hardliners and moderate reformers, it has moved at a furious pace to institute full-scale market reforms and purge the party of its Stalinist legacy. Still, when the party changed its status from "communist" to "socialist," and required its members to re-register, only 30,000 of the 700,000 original members bothered to apply for new party cards.

"The whole question of the presidency was invented by Pozsgay because he saw that the collapse of his party was unavoidable," says Tibor Vidos, executive director of the Alliance of Free Democrats, the party behind the referendum. "He would have been elected before a real campaign could have

been launched. The smaller opposition groups wouldn't have had a chance."

Because of this, the Free Democrats and their sister organization FIDESZ, a liberal youth group, refused to sign the round-table agreement. Instead, they surprised the government by obtaining the 100,000 signatures needed to put the issue, as well as other questions, up for a popular vote. While the Social Democratic Party and the rural-based Small Holders Party abandoned the pact with the government and supported the plebiscite, Democratic Forum stuck by the round-table agreement and called for a boycott of the referendum.

Despite Democratic Forum's assurances to the contrary, many people believed that the party, which maintains a close relationship with HSP reformers, was positioning itself as a potential coalition partner with the state party. "We thought it was in the national interest to have a general presidential election first," says Forum spokesperson Geza Jeszensky, a dean at Budapest's Karl Marx University. "No one can deny that this transition period should come to an end as soon as possible. Even if Pozsgay had won it, that wouldn't have been a problem. We did not support him, but many people think that he would have been ideal."

The referendum's success represents a major setback for Democratic Forum, which almost overnight lost its position as the country's leading opposition party. The Forum and the Free Democrats directed vicious campaigns against each other, bringing tensions into the open that an opposition solidarity pact had barely kept concealed. But the actual political differences between any of the major parties, the HSP included, are minimal. So far debate has been confined to outdoing one another in free-market, pro-democracy, anti-communist rhetoric.

Democratic Forum, the only nationally organized opposition party, was formed two years ago by populist intellectuals and disenchanted communists. With only a vague political platform, the party has relied upon a crude nationalist message to attract broad support from the rural middle class and

urban professionals. Its brand of nationalism, known as "Hungarydom," has come under justified fire for fueling anti-Semitic, anti-Gypsy and anti-Romanian sentiment.

Meanwhile, the Free Democrats have been shot into the political limelight by the referendum and have doubled their tiny membership in the past two months. Although the group was previously unknown outside of Budapest, new offices are now springing up throughout the country. The one-year-old party grew out of the dissident movement of the past decade. Its founding membership—Jews, intellectuals and former students of the Marxist philosopher George Lukacs—suffered the repression of the Kadar era. "We were the opposition when the Forum leadership was in the government," says Miklós Haraszti, one of the group's founders. Unlike Democratic Forum, the Free Democrats reject the possibility of a coalition with the HSP.

No illusions: Haraszti, 44, a poet and sociologist, is representative of the Free Democrats' leadership. Jailed in the early '70s for his book, *Workers in a Worker's State*, he was released only after a hunger strike. The Free

The referendum dashed the ruling Socialist Party's hopes for a quick presidential victory.

Democrats—who jokingly call themselves "post-Marxists"—are staunchly anti-communist with a liberal human-rights platform and an economic program close to Reaganomics.

"We're not traitors to social causes," says Haraszti, a former Maoist. "We just don't have any illusions about socialism or some 'third way' that can be developed between socialism and capitalism. We have a mixed program of social and liberal values, but not social meaning 'socialism'—rather strong institutions of social solidarity. Our goal is a thorough westernization of Hungary."

While the party stresses social commitment, its first priority is a rapid privatization of the economy—the sale of as many state-owned businesses as possible and the creation of an entrepreneurial, capital-owning class. "The transformation of our society from a communist system to a European-style capitalist system will be very difficult," says Vidos. "We have a responsibility in a devastated economy to integrate Hungary into the world market. Otherwise we are dead. This means the creation of ownership—any type that will stand firm on the market—private, cooperative, joint-venture, whatever."

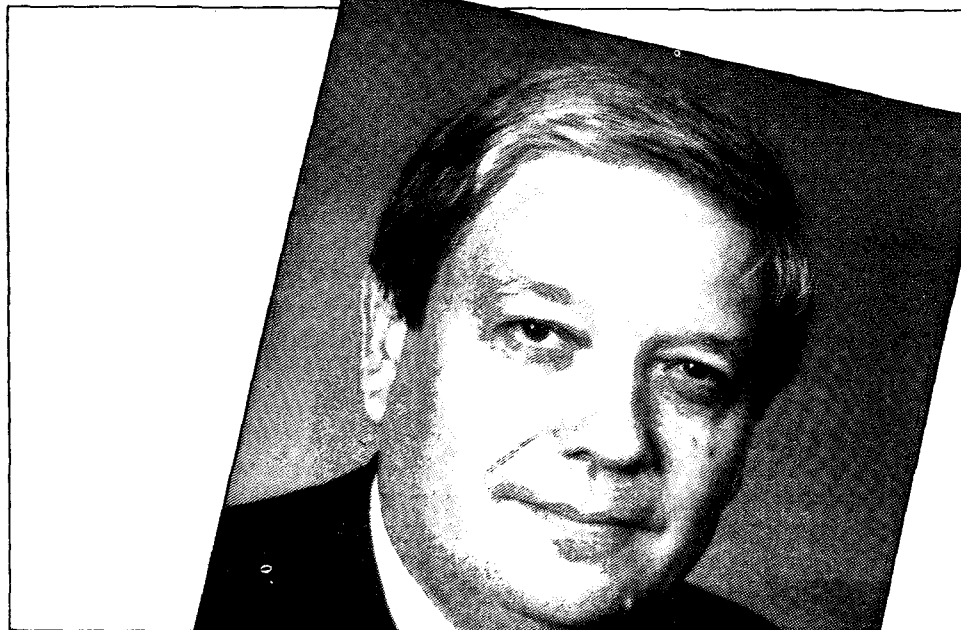
In a country already plagued with 20 percent inflation and nearly a quarter of the population living below the poverty line, the Free Democrats' "economic shock therapy" implies some lean years ahead for Hungary's workforce—nearly half of which is unskilled or has skills that are obsolete on the world market. The party's conservative and more social-democratic factions are haggling over the issue, but for the time being, the former has gained the upper hand. "If people have illusions about capitalism, then in the first elections those illusions must prevail," says Haraszti. "We know that new inequalities, new oppressions and new censorships arise from a capitalist system. The fact is that we have no choice."

Reinforcement: The referendum also registered 90 percent affirmative votes for three other issues: the disbanding of the dreaded 60,000-strong Workers' Militia, the removal of the party apparatus from workplaces, and the return of all party assets to the government. Although, by the time of the plebiscite, these issues had already been approved by parliament, party influence in the workplace is still strong, and at least \$80 million in party property is still unaccounted for. Such remnants of the old party power structures reinforce for many people the necessity of unseating the HSP before fair elections can take place.

For example, although the referendum went off smoothly, the party bureaucracy was unable to kick its decades-long habit of electoral manipulation. The government monopolized prime media time, which forced the opposition to innovate with a colorful street campaign. In workplaces, where managers must still maintain a certain percentage of party members, many workers reported pressure from their bosses. Some local district councils, in an attempt to prevent the 50 percent turnout necessary for the result to stand, discouraged voting and complicated the already-formidable bureaucracy for commuters who voted outside their district of employment. In several districts bundles of registration cards were found dumped in trash bins.

The 50 percent turnout, however, surprised many observers who had predicted that the apathy and resignation that marked local elections earlier this year would result in an invalid plebiscite. "This is the first vote ever that was initiated from below and not imposed from above," says FIDESZ spokesman Thomas Deutsch. "For years people have been forced to vote in elections that always showed a 99.9 percent victory for the government. Everything taken into consideration, the referendum was a positive first step toward a real democratic system." □

Paul Hockenos is a freelance journalist living in Budapest.



Hungarian President Imre Pozsgay: his grip on power is slipping.

By David R. Dye

HONDURAS IS A COUNTRY WITHOUT SHARP contours. Though it is one of Latin America's poorest nations, with an annual per capita income of roughly \$500, it has at least managed to avoid creating the polarizing extremes of wealth and poverty that afflict neighboring El Salvador and Guatemala. In politics, the dividing lines are also blurred, with the votes in generally fraud-tinged elections going mainly to two parties, the Liberals and the Nationals, which in most estimates make Tweedledum and Tweedledee look like night and day.

In the latest general election, on November 26, Honduran voters, some 40 percent of whom are illiterate, gave their blessing to National Party candidate Rafael Leonardo Callejas, 46-year-old scion of an old-guard landholding family. The campaign, filled with insults and invective—the two parties published their programs virtually on the eve of the voting—did not clarify Callejas' stand on crucial issues, but what one can discover is not comforting, either for Hondurans or for the rest of Central America.

An agricultural economist trained in the U.S. at Mississippi State University, Callejas vigorously expounds the neoliberal economic philosophy that has swept Latin America in the last decade and has at times had gruesome results for poor peoples' living standards. Though he must tread carefully, given potential resistance from Honduras' relatively powerful peasant and labor groups, Callejas has repeatedly indicated that he will shake up the country's overprotected economy in order to make its wares salable in world markets. The first step in this quest

Leader inspires malaise

is the devaluation of the lempira, one of Latin America's most stable currencies—something both parties vowed unconvincingly to avoid but everyone knows is inevitable.

But shaking up an economy as poor as Honduras'—75 percent of Honduran children reportedly suffer from some degree of malnutrition—has the potential to spark mass political unrest. Alluding to recent events in El Salvador, where similar policies are in

HONDURAS

vogue, Liberal Party campaign chief Ramón Villeda Bermúdez says that "if Callejas proposes to solve problems here the way [Salvadoran President Alfredo] Cristiani does, we're going to have to import priests so they can kill them." The policies to come, then, are likely to make Callejas unpopular with his countrymen.

On the other hand, they will stand him in good stead with the U.S., particularly with the Agency for International Development (AID). Since April AID has been using \$70 million in assistance to Honduras to pressure the government to come to terms with the International Monetary Fund over such matters as the exchange rate and budget deficit. Although U.S. Embassy spokespeople deny any partiality in these elections, most local observers believe the U.S. favored Callejas. While Liberal candidate Carlos Flores spoke of "reviewing" Honduras' unequal relationship with the U.S. and outgoing Liberal President José Azcona Hoyo signed the recent

Tela accords against Washington's wishes, Callejas carefully avoided any hint of antagonism toward Washington and waxed ambiguous on the demobilization of the contras.

In the wake of Cristiani's rupture of Salvadoran relations with Nicaragua, the consequences of an accentuated Honduran dependence on the U.S. becomes worrisome. According to the local newspaper *El Herald*, which supports him, Callejas' first reaction to the Salvadoran decision was that it effectively undid the Central American peace accord signed in Tela. In his post-election victory speech, the president-elect was more cautious but refused to criticize Cristiani, saying only, "That decision is up to the Salvadoran government."

The realities behind this stance are a cause for foreboding. According to reliable sources, the Callejas campaign received large amounts of money, and possibly the use of a helicopter, from Salvador's ARENA party. In addition, National Party president and Callejas intimate Ricardo Maduro is married to a relative of Cristiani's wife. Though Callejas dutifully denied the ARENA link to reporters shortly before the election, acknowledging a political affinity only with Costa Rica's Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC), the doubt lingers.

This latter tie increases the unease. The likely victory of PUSC candidate Rafael Angel Calderon in next February's Costa Rican election will create a potential right-wing majority in the five Central American countries. When the Reagan administration tried

to line up a Salvador-Honduras-Costa Rica axis in the mid-'80s, it was dubbed the "Tegucigalpa bloc." Revived for the '90s, such a diplomatic alliance could provide cover for Bush administration attempts to scuttle the Central American peace process, keeping the "pressure" on the Sandinistas after Nicaragua's upcoming election.

For Hondurans, this prospect is an ominous one. At the end of a decade that has seen the U.S. turn Honduras into a giant military base from which to launch the contras against Nicaragua, few Hondurans doubt that Washington, working through a pliant and corrupt local military, calls the shots here. Though Hondurans of all political stripes are fed up with the marauding Nicaraguan rebels, the country's political parties were silent on the contra issue during these elections, in deference to the powers that be.

Though there are dissenting opinions in diplomatic circles, most Honduran political analysts are convinced that Bush will not in the foreseeable future abandon the contras still encamped in Honduras. On a related point, agreement is complete: if the U.S. wants to keep the contras in Honduran territory indefinitely, no one in Honduras is going to prevent it.

Honduras will enter the '90s having conducted two elections, one for a civilian president and another for a new military chief, Col. Arnulfo Cantarero, whom the nation's top officers chose in an intramural ballot. Both leaders are likely to do the U.S.' bidding. Elections in Honduras have admirably covered Washington's bases, both literally and figuratively. □

David R. Dye writes regularly for *In These Times* on Central America.

By Doug Smith

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

AT THE DRAMATIC END OF A SOMETIMES lackluster campaign, Canada's social democrats selected Audrey McLaughlin as the first woman to lead a major political party in North America. That decision was one of the few clear-cut results of the New Democratic Party's (NDP) largest convention (2,510 delegates) to date, which closed in Winnipeg on December 3.

On the fourth ballot McLaughlin edged out former British Columbia premier Dave Barrett by 236 votes. The campaign had been a two-way battle since Barrett's late entry into the race. But the result, like the campaign, was riddled with ambiguity.

The two previous NDP leadership campaigns, both of which took place in the '70s, could be seen as relatively clear-cut left-right battles. In both cases the party establishment successfully fended off the left.

But the McLaughlin-Barrett duel defied such analysis. As the longtime leader of the British Columbia NDP, Barrett could hardly be seen as an anti-party-establishment candidate. Nor did his willingness to invoke back-to-work legislation in the mid-'70s when he was premier leave him with much in the way of radical credentials. A passionate and spectacular orator, Barrett could only be seen as anti-establishment because his seat-of-the-pants decision-making style would make it impossible for any group of back-roomers to have much influence over him. Despite this, Barrett won considerable support from labor unions and other influential delegates who considered McLaughlin the establishment candidate.

McLaughlin, on the other hand, remained a cipher for much of the campaign. Elected

Canada's New Democrats pass the torch to a woman

in 1987 to represent the far northern Yukon riding, she made her first big impression in national politics when she obtained party permission to break ranks and vote against a series of constitutional reforms proposed by the country's Conservative government.

CANADA

It was a move some saw as a tribute to both her independence and her negotiating skills, since the other party member who broke

At the convention McLaughlin captured support from the New Democratic Party's strong feminist wing and won endorsements from the leaders of the Steelworkers and the Autoworkers unions.

ranks on the issue did it without dispensation from the party leader and was disciplined for doing so.

Making connections: At the convention McLaughlin captured support from the party's strong feminist wing and won endorsements from the leaders of the Steelworkers and the Autoworkers unions. Along the way she also picked up backing from many of the party's federal caucus members. This support, while invaluable in securing her victory, also led many supporters to wonder if she were becoming a captive of the party's Central Canadian establishment.

There are few deep wounds to be healed in the aftermath of this convention, largely because most of the delegates were not passionately committed to the candidates they supported. This leaves McLaughlin in a difficult position. Now that she is the NDP leader, she must determine which way the party will go. During the last federal election, it ran a go-for-broke campaign to overtake the Liberal Party for second place on the federal scene. It downplayed economic issues and focused instead on the popularity and integrity of the party's leader, Ed Broadbent.

The strategy backfired when free trade with the U.S. emerged as the campaign's central issue, and the Liberals successfully portrayed themselves as the trade agreement's main opponents. The NDP was relegated to the sidelines. On polling day the 20 percent of the Canadian population that has tradi-

tionally voted NDP stuck with the party, but there were no breakthroughs. For the first time in its history, the NDP could not say it fought the good fight and claim a moral victory. Five months after the election, Broadbent, who a year earlier was thinking of becoming prime minister, resigned.

Stumbling blocks: McLaughlin has promised to make the development of a comprehensive economic policy one of her first priorities. But because her campaign stressed openness and process, rather than policy, she has been able to avoid explaining her vision of a social-democratic economic policy for the '90s.

She must also work to help the party develop a coherent constitutional position. For largely electoral reasons, the NDP supported the Conservative government's constitutional package in 1987. When that support failed to improve the party's standing in Quebec, many of the NDP's Western leaders—and in electoral terms the party is based in the West—began to voice their concerns over the lack of attention to women, native peoples and social services in the constitutional agreement.

McLaughlin faces two dangerous opponents on the national stage. In the next election she will be up against Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and, in all likelihood, Jean Chretien as the leader of the Liberal Party. Both men are shrewd bilingual politicians with strong national followings. McLaughlin, who was faulted numerous times during the convention for her flat, cautious speaking style, must establish herself in the public mind as their equal. Although she currently enjoys wide support across the NDP, she could be in trouble at the first sign of a stumble. □

Doug Smith is a journalist and broadcaster based in Winnipeg.

THE 20TH CENTURY AS AN HISTORIC PERIOD is already over, it seems. It lasted 75 years, from the 1914 outbreak of the fratricidal two-part war between the European powers until the sudden transformations of 1989. Historians will define the period, full of mass illusions and bloodshed. For the moment, let us simply note that it is over. When George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachov spoke of the dawn of a "new era" as the tempest roared around them in Malta, they were not even exaggerating.

The weather put a surprise twist on the symbolism inherent in the White House choice of warships off Malta as the site of George Bush's first summit meeting with the Soviet leader. The most telling symbol was noted at the start by Gorbachov himself, who suggested scrapping the vessels since they couldn't even be boarded in rough weather.

How suitable for the "new era" hailed by the two leaders that they met instead on the Soviet civilian cruise liner, the *Maxim Gorki*, anchored cozily in the harbor while the

COLD WAR

mighty U.S. Sixth Fleet heaved and pitched uselessly offshore. Gorbachov had asked for a demilitarized Mediterranean, and in a way, that's what he got. The Cold War was gone with the wind, and so was the proud display of U.S. naval power.

Lucky that the Soviet luxury cruiser was at hand to provide a place to sit down. In new-era role distribution, the Soviet Union—a land power—stays sensibly anchored close to the land, while the U.S., for reasons invisible to anyone else, insists on bounding over the high seas with a high-tech nuclear superpower Navy that doesn't really make any difference.

Rhyme and reason: Malta wasn't Yalta—but then, neither was Yalta ever really "Yalta." At Malta, even French observers—most paranoid about "Yalta"—conceded, the superpowers could not and did not divide up the world. There was only a certain evident division between their preoccupations. The dangerous military confrontation, with inherent risk of nuclear apocalypse in the middle of Europe, is coming to an end. The extension of this confrontation to other parts of the world is also coming to an end, even if the conflicts persist, with decreased Soviet involvement. For the Soviet Union is turning toward Europe, and the U.S. is turning toward futile projection of naval power in southern waters—stormier than forecast.

This division showed up in the points on which Gorbachov and Bush agreed or—even more—failed to agree.

They agreed on arms control and disarmament. A strategic arms reduction treaty (START) making deep cuts in intercontinental nuclear missiles is expected to be concluded by the June 1990 summit, with an agreement on conventional forces in Europe (CFE) to follow before the end of that year. They also agreed on Germany, with Bush endorsing the cautious approach to reunification needed by Gorbachov to avoid alarming his military establishment.

They failed to agree, most notably, on extending arms control and disarmament negotiation to naval forces. The Soviets have become more insistent that they cannot go on indefinitely agreeing to reduce their land-based forces without getting around to discussing naval power, where the U.S. has a clear advantage. The Soviet side is particu-



Superpowers say goodbye to era of East-West tension

larly concerned about sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM) able to deliver nuclear or conventional warheads, which the Pentagon is putting on U.S. warships.

There was disagreement also about Central America, but not much. Gorbachov assured Bush that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with shipments of arms to guerrillas in El Salvador, and Bush accepted his explanation, blaming the Sandinistas for deceiving "our Soviet friends." Soon the U.S. administration may have to stop justifying its action in Central America as a way of blocking strategic inroads by the Soviet Union. Perhaps the new pretext can be to block strategic incursions by the West German Greens, who have been raising money to help the Sandinistas pay for their electoral campaign.

Canceling the war: As the Cold War ceases to be the organizational center of world affairs, the U.S. administration may insist that its residual military deployments do not concern Moscow. The Pentagon is left with turn-of-the-last-century naval-power projection, in pursuit of aims that are currently hard to define, ranging from wars against drug dealers to wars against liberation theology—arguably the two sides to a single conflict. America's peripheral displays of pique are of peripheral interest to the rest of the world, whose center of gravity is moving back to the Eurasian land mass from its American adventure.

Certainly, the Bush-Gorbachov meeting was crucial in that the U.S. finally announced an end to "economic warfare against the Soviet Union," as Georgi Arbatov, the Soviet Union's senior expert on North America, put it. There is now a realization that Western capitalism has absolutely nothing to gain from destabilizing, much less trying to "roll back," Soviet power—which is already folding back, or folding up, faster than anyone can follow. Again in the image of the weather

off Malta, there are some waters too troubled to fish in.

The fact that the Eastern European storms can rage without interference is reassuring insofar as it means that—in contrast to 1914 or 1939—no great power is stalking ethnic conflicts in order to pounce and try to change the map of Europe. It means World War III is canceled.

Problems may be tackled more honestly and pragmatically. An example is the case of the Uniate Church, banned by Stalin in 1946. Cold War polemics translated the historically complex problem of the Ukrainian Uniate Catholic Church into a characteristic instance of suppression of religious faith by godless communism.

The Uniate Church was banned by Stalin as a favor to the Russian Orthodox Church, and any czar might have done the same. The

The fact that Eastern European storms can rage free of interference is reassuring insofar as it means that no great power is stalking ethnic conflicts in order to pounce and change the map of Europe.

Uniate Church was founded in 1596 in the western Ukraine—its center is the city of Lvov—where the aristocracy had become Roman Catholic during a period of Polish and Lithuanian rule. The ordinary local folk remained attached to Greek Orthodox rites. To appeal to them, the Uniate compromise created a local church combining the authority of the pope and his bishops with Orthodox rites. This arrangement was always

resented by the Russian Orthodox Church as a Vatican trick to take advantage of Russia's troubles with pagan Mongol invaders from the East to proselytize Orthodox Christians.

In short, it is a quarrel that essentially has never had anything to do with communism or Marxism and everything to do with rivalry between Poles and Russians and between the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. But today it boils down to a problem of who gets to use a large number of churches in the western Ukraine, a problem that can reasonably be solved.

A last vestige: To very many Europeans, Gorbachov's meeting with fellow-European John Paul II was of greater historical importance than the Bush-Gorbachov meeting. The dominant mood in Italy was close to ecstasy at this "historic compromise." Italy is particularly well geared to take advantage of the new situation. Italian entrepreneurs are second only to the Germans in exploiting business opportunities in the East. Italy's Communist Party (PCI) is getting ready to change its name to something that sounds more harmless, as a prelude—it hopes—to entering at long last a coalition government in Rome.

Unflinching U.S. opposition to Communist Party participation in the Italian government remains a last vestige of the Cold War. On his arrival in Rome last July, the new U.S. ambassador, Michigan businessman Peter Secchia, kept up the tradition of refusing to receive Communist Party leaders. The Americans didn't want the Italian Communists to enter the government of their country for several reasons, he said, especially their positions "on key strategic issues."

Name changes don't impress the Bush administration. Last week, Richard Gardner, who was former President Jimmy Carter's ambassador to Italy, told an Italian daily newspaper that the PCI's name change was coming too late to seem anything but "tactical" and "opportunistic." But a more serious political problem for the future ex-Communists is that this is the way it looks to many of their longtime supporters as well.

Continued on page 22

El Salvador: A Government at War with Its Own People

Six Jesuit priests murdered in cold blood by soldiers of the U.S.-funded army. Bombs, rockets, and machine gun-fire raining down from U.S.-supplied aircraft on innocent civilians in densely populated neighborhoods of San Salvador. Martial law decreed, abolishing all civil rights. The press muzzled by military censorship. Religious, labor, and political leaders driven into hiding.

This is the Salvadoran government's response to their people's dramatic uprising in demand of democratic change.



Jesuit priests slain by an army death squad, November 16. Many other religious leaders, under government death threats, have gone into hiding.

In one nearby hut, a rocket from a helicopter killed a mother and her two daughters.

"The army's firing from their helicopters like madmen," said Raul Hernandez Martinez, whose 11-year-old son was killed in another explosion.

—San Francisco Chronicle, November 13, 1989



FMLN fighters are warmly welcomed as a liberating force by a civilian population angered over rising government repression.

Incredibly, the official policy of President Bush is to prop up the brutal regime in El Salvador, supplying it with **\$1.5 million daily** in weapons and financial aid. And now, in an eerie replay of Vietnam, the Administration won't rule out the use of U.S. troops in the fighting.

El Salvador's People Have Risen Up for Their Freedom

After suffering decades of U.S.-backed military dictatorship and poverty, the Salvadoran people have risen up in revolt. Their uprising raises hopes for a democratic future—free of hunger and death squad terror.

Residents of many neighborhoods and towns have taken to the streets, building barricades and trenches to keep the army out. Their revolt has been sparked by a nation-wide offensive, beginning November 11, of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), the rebel alliance fighting for democracy and social reform in El Salvador.

Contribute to the Movement for Freedom in El Salvador

The FMLN, conscious of its responsibility to the people, has undertaken to construct and operate **Emergency Mobile Hospital Units** in areas under government attack in order to provide treatment to injured civilians and FMLN members.

Let us heal the wounds inflicted by the immoral policy of our government, offering the Salvadoran people emergency hospitals and medicines rather than bombs and bullets.

The **Bravo Fund** was established to fund the construction and supply of these emergency mobile hospitals, and other humanitarian and developmental projects.

The U.S.-El Salvador Institute for Democratic Development: Making Salvadoran Voices Heard

The U.S.-El Salvador Institute for Democratic Development is a new national organization of U.S. citizens, with its office in San Francisco. The Institute has a mission both educational and humanitarian in character. With its unlimited access to the national media, the Bush Administration has tried to convince the people of the United States that U.S. intervention in El Salvador is justified in the name of "national security interests" and it has attempted to portray the home-grown rebellion against the army as "Soviet-backed subversion" against the United States. The Institute, therefore, has been created to challenge these Cold War pretexts of U.S. intervention in Central America have not been adequately challenged in the United States.

Your Contribution Is Urgently Needed to Save Lives

Please make your check payable to "The Bravo Fund".

Yes, I want to save lives in El Salvador! I enclose a check to "The Bravo Fund" for the construction of FMLN emergency mobile hospitals, in the amount of:

☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ other

Name

Address

City State Zip

Phone ()

Mail to: The Bravo Fund P.O. Box 460586 San Francisco, CA 94146 (415) 647-9433

(Contributions are not tax-deductible.)

The Institute proposes to open debate on U.S. policy by bringing before U.S. audiences the protagonists of El Salvador's movement for democracy to let them speak for themselves, and have a fair hearing in the United States. Thus the Institute makes available official representatives of the FMLN to participate in public forums and debates as well as interviews with the media. At the same time, the Institute works to defend and promote the rights of Salvadorans affected by the war, including members of the FMLN to receive prompt humanitarian assistance to relieve the traumas of war. The Institute is a sponsor of the **Bravo Fund**, which will provide financial assistance for projects to help the war wounded and their dependents. The Bravo Fund was established in 1982 by the National Black Leadership Initiative, a Mexican doctor who was killed in El Salvador by the Salvadoran army on February 1, 1989.

By Eric Gravley

WINDHOEK, NAMIBIA

DURING THE WAR OF LIBERATION OF THE South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) against South African rule in Namibia, SWAPO members gave the battle cry, "Boers go to Kakamas!"—a desolate region of the South African Karroo. The constitution SWAPO proposed last March, at the beginning of the campaign for November's elections, included a historical review of the "Boere" as a "manifestation of colonialism on the Namibian soil" responsible for "all kinds of violence against our people."

But now that SWAPO has won the elections, taken control of the new constituent assembly and is well on its way to achieving independence, its tone has changed. SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma, who returned to Namibia in September after 29 years in exile, has followed the example of Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe by encouraging Namibian whites to stay. And the constitution's reference to "Boere" has been deleted.

SWAPO's conciliatory politics are not necessarily a matter of good will. Since its 57 percent majority of the vote fell short of the two-thirds margin needed to ratify the new constitution, SWAPO now must compromise with an opposition that has close ties to South Africa.

Of the 72-member assembly elected in November, SWAPO won 41 seats; the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a multiracial party that has been a partner in South Africa's Namibian administration since 1978, won 21 seats; and five smaller parties divided the remaining seats.

The new assembly meets daily in Windhoek at the Tintenpalast, the colonial seat during both German and South African rule of Namibia, where as recently as March an all-white Cabinet tinkered with the legislative machinery of Namibian apartheid. Under the terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, the assembly is to draft a constitution and set a date for independence when the new Namibian government will take power. The assembly has no other function and, until the members approve a constitution, South Africa will continue to govern the country.

Immediate motion: SWAPO has wasted no time getting started, pushing a motion through the assembly on November 21, the day it convened, to incorporate the "82 principles" into the new constitution. The principles demand a democratic state consisting of executive and legislative branches and an independent judiciary. They also provide for a bill of rights. The move defused the opposition's claim that SWAPO was looking to North Korea as a role model.

At the end of November, Nujoma spoke at the 43rd Namibian Agricultural Congress to dispel white fears about a "land redistribution" program SWAPO had vowed to incorporate in the constitution. The new government, Nujoma said, would distribute only abandoned land or land bought from owners. Nujoma did not set a price, but the speech should contribute to a calm, forward-looking mood. SWAPO's initial strategy is to remove obstacles and achieve early independence.

Nujoma said on South African television that the assembly should be able to complete its work by April, the scheduled leaving date for the U.N. Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), which has monitored the independence process in Namibia since last March.

For SWAPO the November elections were the triumph of a 30-year liberation struggle

Africa's last colony takes sovereign strides



SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma: his conciliatory strategy aims at early independence.

that claimed tens of thousands of Namibian lives. In 1957, a group of migrant workers formed the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO) to seek liberation from South Africa. Wanting a more national appeal, OPO renamed itself SWAPO in 1960. In 1966, following a World Court ruling that Liberia and Ethiopia had no authority to challenge South Africa's occupation of Namibia, SWAPO became disillusioned with international diplomacy and began a guerrilla war that dragged on in stalemate until a cease-fire took hold last April. While SWAPO fought, the U.N. aggressively pursued SWAPO's cause through

can affairs, Chester Crocker, who championed his policy of "linkage" for eight years before it finally climaxed with the signing in Geneva last December.

For years U.S. foreign-policy officials largely ignored Namibia. Then a Marxist government took power in Angola after Portugal's 1974 coup and subsequent rush to abandon its African possessions. In 1975, a roused Henry Kissinger arranged meetings with southern African leaders in an attempt to check communist expansion while securing black majority rule in Namibia and southern Rhodesia. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy failed, but his initiative gave the U.S. the central role the U.N. had previously played in southern Africa. Fifteen years later, Crocker completed Kissinger's initiative.

Imperial deprivation: For most of Namibia's history, the protection of the Namib Desert along its Atlantic coastline left it undisturbed by colonizers. But Germany eventually claimed the territory in the late 1890s, during the European scramble for Africa, and brutally conquered the indigenous people over the next 20 years. South Africa seized Namibia from Germany during World War I and was given a League of Nations mandate to administer the territory—a mandate South

Africa interpreted as license to exploit Namibia's rich diamond and mineral reserves.

Following the re-emergence of the white-supremacist National Party after World War II, South Africa fully implemented its policy of apartheid, under which blacks were moved into townships and forced to take menial jobs at low wages while white settlers claimed Namibia's best farmlands. Black children were taught little but the Afrikaans language needed to make them useful workers. This educational deprivation will be the most debilitating legacy of South Africa's 74-year colonial adventure, which ended with the November elections.

The voting in the elections was clearly divided along tribal lines. SWAPO's majority win was highly concentrated in urban areas and in the northern region of Ovamboland, SWAPO's ethnic base, home to half the national population. The DTA won the rural and southern regions where many of Namibia's smaller tribes live.

Some tribal leaders have been attracted to the fringe benefits of DTA membership, while others joined the DTA for protection from what they call "Ovambo domination," a phrase used to describe the threat to traditional authority posed by a national, and hence largely Ovambo, government.

During the '60s, when Namibian nationalism developed, SWAPO competed with many other groups for dominance. SWAPO chose

SWAPO's victory in the November elections was the triumph of a 30-year liberation struggle that claimed thousands of Namibian lives.

a military route and in 1973 won U.S. recognition as "the sole and authentic representative" of the Namibian people. The leaders of other groups were bitter about their "unauthentic" status, and many eventually joined the DTA rather than take back seat to SWAPO.

The DTA formed in 1978. At the time, South Africa was attempting to avoid implementation of Resolution 435 and decided to hold elections independent of the U.N. SWAPO boycotted the elections, and the international community refused to recognize the new government. The victorious DTA wrote a constitution and worked with South Africa to create a bantustan system of "second-tier governments." Each mini-government had the power to tax members of its ethnic group. This allowed whites, who control 80 percent of Namibia's wealth, to establish superior hospitals, schools and other services. Despite the inequality, the system offered considerable political spoils to cooperative blacks.

The DTA governed the new state of South West Africa/Namibia, as Namibia is officially called, and was groomed by the white power structure to take control of an independent Namibia. Although the DTA government collapsed in 1983, the DTA remained a partner in government through the second-tier system and used this incumbency to great advantage during the election.

The DTA is led by white millionaire farmer Dirk Mudge and by Mishake Muyongo, a veteran politician from northern Namibia.

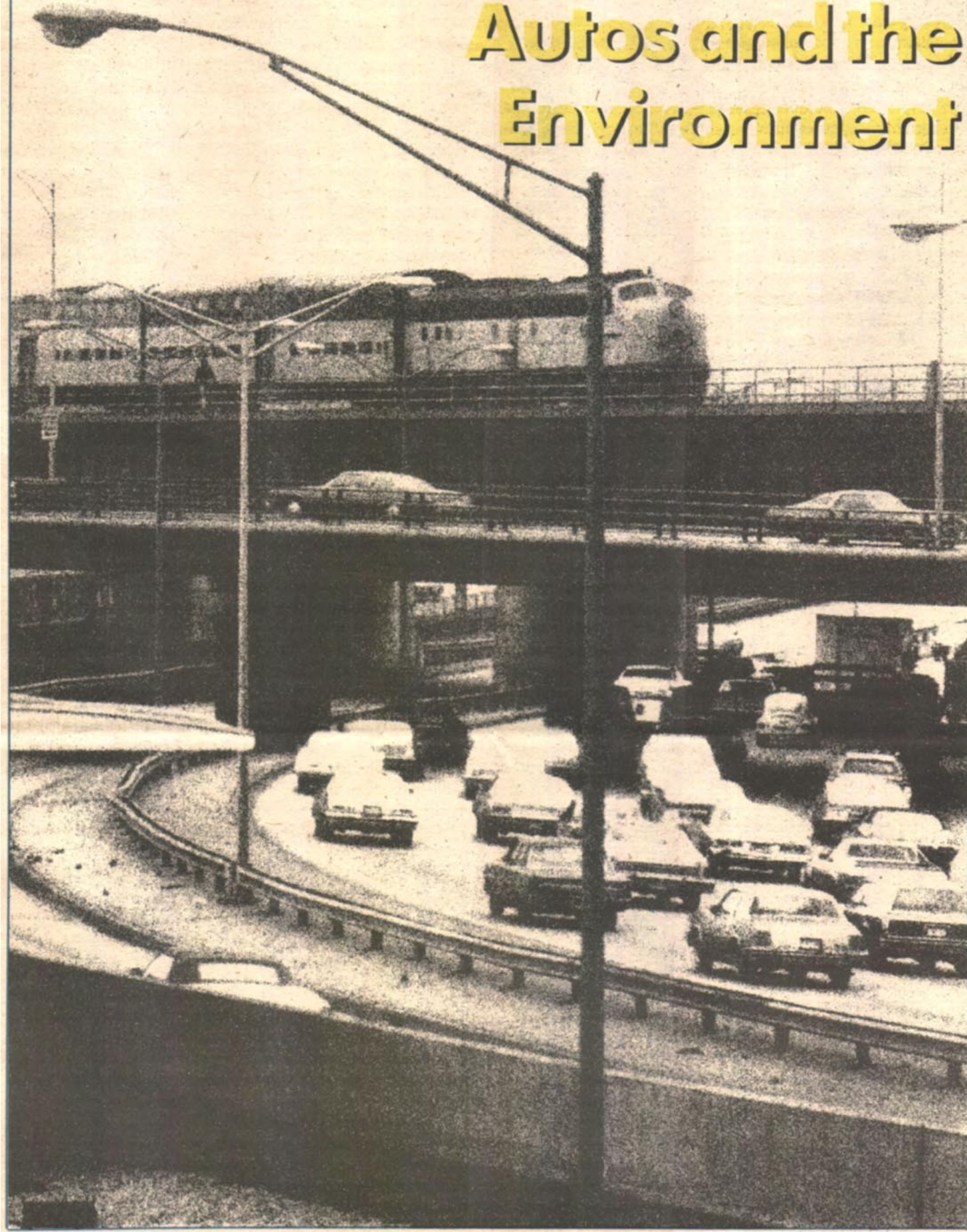
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NAMIBIA

diplomatic channels and in 1978 passed Resolution 435, the blueprint for Namibian independence that was eventually adopted last year as part of an international compromise.

The Namibian elections were part of the Tripartite Agreement among South Africa, Angola and Cuba, under which South Africa would grant independence to Namibia in exchange for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola. The quid-pro-quo agreement was the brainchild of then-President Reagan's assistant secretary of state for Afri-

Stagnant Politics, Dirty Air: Autos and the Environment



By Stan Luger

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER CONSUMER advocate Ralph Nader exposed American cars' built-in safety hazards, which needlessly kill tens of thousands of people each year, it is now clear that the automobile poses an even greater threat to the environment.

Cars are largely responsible for smog and air toxics, not to mention the nation's increasing dependence on foreign oil and the escalating traffic congestion clogging American cities. They are a major contributor to global warming as well as the

acid rain that destroys forests, wildlife and aquatic resources. The catastrophic oil spill in Valdez, Alaska, was caused in part by the unquenchable thirst for gasoline.

Despite the passage of the 1970 Clean Air Act, more than 110 million Americans breathed air that exceeded federal ozone standards last year. Urban smog levels set a new record in 1988, with levels of ozone—formed when sunlight reacts with atmospheric pollution—5 percent higher than the previous record year. Overall, 101 areas in the nation, including the 24 largest metropolitan areas, exceed federal air-quality standards.

A recent report by the Northeast States for Coordinated Air Use Management found that motor vehicles are the U.S.

single most significant source of carbon monoxide, volatile organic compounds, nitrogen oxides and other toxic compounds. In 1986, for example, motor vehicles were responsible for about 70 percent of total carbon monoxide emissions, 33 percent of hydrocarbons, more than 40 percent of nitrogen oxides and roughly 20 percent of total particulate emissions. Without remedial action, the report warned, overall motor-vehicle emissions will continue to worsen in the '90s.

Autos are also a major factor in global warming because of carbon dioxide emissions. A 1988 Worldwatch report found that the most serious long-term consequence of auto emissions is their contribution to the greenhouse effect. With approx-

imately one-third of the world's 500 million motor vehicles in this country, the U.S. contributes one-quarter of annual worldwide carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions, more than any other nation. Cars are responsible for half of this total. Autos are also the largest source of chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) emissions, which damage the Earth's ozone layer, because of air-conditioner leakage.

Despite substantial reductions in emissions from new cars, automobiles' percentage contribution to total emissions, other than those of lead, has remained largely unchanged.

The heartbeat of America: Why have pollution-control efforts been so ineffective? The reason is simple: Americans are forced to rely on cars for ground transportation. This has resulted not from the unforeseen consequences of private decisions but from government subsidizing of highways and low gasoline taxes that encourage the ownership and use of private cars. Unbridled highway development, rather than balanced transportation planning, has long been the focus of public policy (see accompanying story).

The automobile's predominance in the U.S. is reflected in the following startling statistics.

- Only 5 percent of Americans use public transportation to get to work; most of them travel alone in their cars.
- Car ownership is growing faster than the population: more than half of all American households own two or more cars.
- There are more than 180 million motor vehicles in the country, an increase of 25 million since 1980.
- Four out of every five miles traveled in the U.S. are by car.
- Americans drove their cars 1.5 trillion miles in 1988, up 43 billion from 1986.
- Since 1970 the number of vehicle miles driven increased 72 percent, and the U.S. Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) predicts another 50 percent increase by the year 2000.
- American cars are driven approximately the same distance as all other cars in the world combined.

As a result of this boom in car ownership and use, traffic delays are expected to quadruple by the year 2005. And increasing congestion costs money in terms of wasted time and fuel. The costs of highway congestion are estimated at \$9 billion and are forecast to rise to \$50 billion by 2005. If current trends continue, the FHWA estimates, traffic delays by then will waste more than 7.3 billion gallons of gas annually, and vehicle hours lost in traffic will increase from approximately 2 billion to more than 8 billion.

But more important than this wasted oil and time are the extensive public-health and economic effects of auto-produced pollution. Air pollution, which affects healthy children and adults as well as those with respiratory problems, causes 2 to 5 percent of human death and disease, Harvard University researcher Haluk Ozkaynak testified before a Senate subcommittee in 1987. Acid rain alone, according to one Senate report, is responsible for 50,000 to 70,000 excess deaths per year, and airborne toxics kill several thousand as well. Air pollution is also the leading cause of lung damage, costing \$16 billion for related health-care costs and another \$40 billion in reduced worker productivity. Pollution-

related damage to forests, aquatic resources and building materials, along with diminished visibility and agricultural productivity, is estimated to cost between \$60 billion and \$100 billion.

A soiled history: Despite air pollution's proven dangers, the Clean Air Act (CAA), which sets standards for certain major pollutants as well as for automobile emissions, has been undercut by compliance delays, modifications and lax enforcement throughout its 19-year history. In the '80s corporate intransigence and internecine congressional battles have plagued the fight for clean air. In fact, since 1981 Congress has failed to reauthorize the CAA and has funded its programs through continuing appropriations resolutions. The Reagan administration's opposition stymied any hope for progress.

But pressures have been building in recent years for action on acid rain, smog and global warming. President George Bush's recent proposals for strengthening the CAA, an attempt to respond to these pressures, broke a legislative stalemate and ensured the emergence of new legislation from this session of Congress. The details were largely uncertain, however, until a recent House compromise virtually guaranteed tighter standards than Bush had proposed.

The House's central protagonists in the clean-air battle serve on the Energy and Commerce Committee (ECC). Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), the committee's powerful chair and the auto industry's main spokesman in Congress, has regularly battled Rep. Henry Waxman (D-CA), who chairs the ECC's subcommittee on health and the environment. Dingell represents Dearborn, Mich., the home of Ford World

Headquarters and several auto plants, while Waxman represents one of the most smog-ridden districts in the nation.

Dingell originally endorsed the Bush proposals, but several key subcommittee votes showed that even tighter fuel-economy standards could not be stopped. Waxman's attempt to substitute his own tougher bill also failed, setting the stage for a meeting between the two longtime rivals. Their compromise, accepted by a unanimous subcommittee vote in early October, avoided a political battle of uncertain outcome on the House floor. The amended standards are tougher than those recommended by Bush, but Dingell was able to obtain delays in compliance as well as discretionary—rather than mandatory—rulemaking provisions for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which enforces the CAA.

Environmentalists greeted the compromise as a victory. But the auto industry, which had endorsed the president's plan, complained that the slightly tightened standards would not produce significantly cleaner air, especially since most pollution is produced by cars that have been driven more than 50,000 miles.

The specter of global warming also prompted action. Last March the EPA issued a report on policy options for dealing with the greenhouse effect. The report suggested fuel-economy standards of 40 miles per gallon and predicted a corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) of 75 miles per gallon by the year 2050. And in a notable reversal of past practice, CAFE for 1990 has been raised from 26.5 to 27.5 miles per gallon—the 1985 standard that was rolled back each successive year by the Reagan administration.

Meanwhile, several members of Con-

gress have begun their own efforts. Five recent bills—sponsored by Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-RI), Sens. Al Gore (D-TN), Tim Wirth (D-CO), and Max Baucus (D-MT), and jointly by Sens. Edward Kennedy and John Kerry (D-MA)—would mandate an increase in CAFE to as much as 50 mpg by the year 2000, an increase that would halve CO₂ emissions as well as reduce gasoline consumption.

Conservation's benefits: Using less gasoline would also bring several other benefits. It would lessen U.S. dependence on foreign oil, thereby improving the trade deficit, and would remove the need to exploit fragile ecosystems. Transportation accounts for the largest single use of oil, 63 percent of annual U.S. consumption—more oil than developing countries use for all purposes. Autos now account for a larger portion of U.S. petroleum demand than before the first oil crisis in the '70s, despite major fuel-economy improvements, and the percentage of imported oil is rising.

The indirect costs of importing oil are borne by the taxpayer. The need for that oil is one reason for the U.S.' continued military presence in the Middle East and makes necessary the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, domestic oil stores intended to protect the U.S. against any future oil embargoes. Before the Alaskan oil spill, Congress was ready to open the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve (ANWR) for oil development but has since shelved the proposal because of rising environmental concern. An amount of oil equivalent to that expected from the ANWR could readily be saved by fuel-economy improvements.

There are no simple solutions for improving air quality. In the short term sev-

eral steps would help, including tighter emissions standards, longer warranty requirements on pollution-control equipment, mandatory inspection, improved fuel economy, a ban on CFCs and vigorous law enforcement. Although the provisions in the House bill are a good first step, they alone are not enough because of inevitable problems with bureaucratic delays, malfunctioning pollution-control equipment and, most of all, increasing car usage.

A national commitment to public transportation is more imperative today than ever before. Unless transportation policy is oriented away from the private automobile, reasonably clean air will be impossible to obtain. Just the reverse occurred during the Reagan years: federal mass-transit funding fell by 30 percent between 1981 and 1988, while highway expenditures increased by 47 percent.

Throughout the country there already has been a renaissance of light-rail trolley development in several cities, including San Diego, Sacramento, Los Angeles and Portland, Ore., as well as heavy-rail lines in Atlanta and Miami. This trend could be encouraged by raising the federal gas tax and earmarking it for public transit. That would provide the billions of dollars necessary for financing urban light-rail transit, aid the development of interurban high-speed trains and discourage unnecessary car trips as well.

But in the long term, continued auto-industry control of transportation technology will ensure that pollution-control efforts remain bogged down in bureaucratic and political battles and pitted against the need for profits.

Stan Luger teaches politics at Russell Sage College in Troy, N.Y.

Auto industry's 'initiatives' dismantled public transportation

The automobile dominates transportation in the U.S. primarily because of two auto-industry initiatives: the highway lobby and the dismantling of urban public rail transit. Realizing that an extensive highway network was necessary for the future growth of the industry, General Motors (GM) helped found the National Highway Users Conference, which in 1932 brought together more than 3,000 businesses to lobby for highways.

Their efforts culminated in the 42,000-mile Interstate Highway System, without which the auto's predominance would be unthinkable. Funded by income from gasoline taxes, road construction became the exclusive focus of federal transportation policy for decades, with more than \$200 billion spent by the government during the past 30 years. Aggregate state and local highway spending well exceeds this amount.

And the cost of maintaining the nation's roads is rising; annual expenditures now approach \$70 billion. Yet the total cost of government subsidies of driving is larger. According to Stanley Hart, chair of the Sierra Club's Angeles chapter, costs such as highway construction, road repair, police patrols and paramedic services combine to make the annual subsidy total about \$400 billion.

The decline of public transit was not, however, the inevitable result of subsidized highways. Public ground transportation was largely dismantled in the '30s and '40s as part of an attempt by GM, in conjunction with oil and tire companies, to undermine alternatives to motor vehicles. By 1917 the U.S. had an extensive network of interurban trolley lines with 45,000 miles of track. In the '20s, 20 billion passengers used these lines. To eliminate this alternative, GM and its allies established a holding company to purchase and dismantle trolley lines and substitute diesel buses. Until recently, GM was the largest producer of these buses.

Since the '30s, higher costs and slower speeds contributed to the collapse of several hundred public-transit systems, diverting commuters to cars. In 1949 a Chicago federal jury convicted GM, Standard Oil of California, Firestone Tire and others of conspiring to dismantle trolley lines throughout the country. The fine was a meager \$5,000, and the conviction came too late: by the '50s, 90 percent of the trolleys were gone, and public-transportation ridership continued to decline before increasing slightly in the mid-'70s. Despite this increase, however, only 5 percent of Americans use public transit, a far cry from the levels of the early 1900s.

After World War II the industry intro-

duced high-compression engines as a result of its decision to build larger cars. These engines' emissions interact with sunlight to produce smog, and they contribute to acid rain. Aggravating episodes of air pollution confounded observers because no one realized that smog was not a single-source problem. While industry executives publicly rejected the first studies that called the car a major culprit, in 1954 they formed a joint venture, purportedly to speed the development of pollution-control equipment.

After 10 years of little progress, many observers concluded that the manufacturers' agreement was actually retarding pollution control, and in 1965 the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors requested a U.S. Justice Department investigation. A grand jury was on the verge of handing down criminal indictments when officials in Washington stepped in. Eventually the case was settled by a consent decree by which the industry agreed to disband the joint venture in return for protection from further legal challenges to past practices. Nonetheless, a confidential Justice Department memo summarizing the investigation leaves little doubt that the industry conspired to hinder the development and installation of pollution-control equipment.

The public's growing interest in the

environment in the '70s targeted the car as a main source of pollution. The stringency of the emission standards that emerged from the Clean Air Act of 1970 shocked the industry. Instead of changing the gasoline engine's basic technology, the industry added catalytic converters to the exhaust system. Ideally, converters turn exhaust gases into harmless vapors, but they have been continually beset by problems. A 1973 report by the National Academy of Sciences called the catalytic system "the most disadvantageous with respect to cost, fuel economy, maintainability and durability." Although more sophisticated controls were introduced in 1980, recent Environmental Protection Agency studies have discovered that the systems function properly in only about half of all cars on the road.

Converters were not the only option. Smaller cars can run on low-compression engines that pollute much less—but smaller cars mean smaller profits.

During the '70s the catalytic system's inherent problems led to a number of delays or modifications in emissions requirements. The most significant modification in the law came in 1977, after the industry threatened to close its plants if the standards were not weakened. Fearing hundreds of thousands of potential layoffs, Congress gave in.

-S.L.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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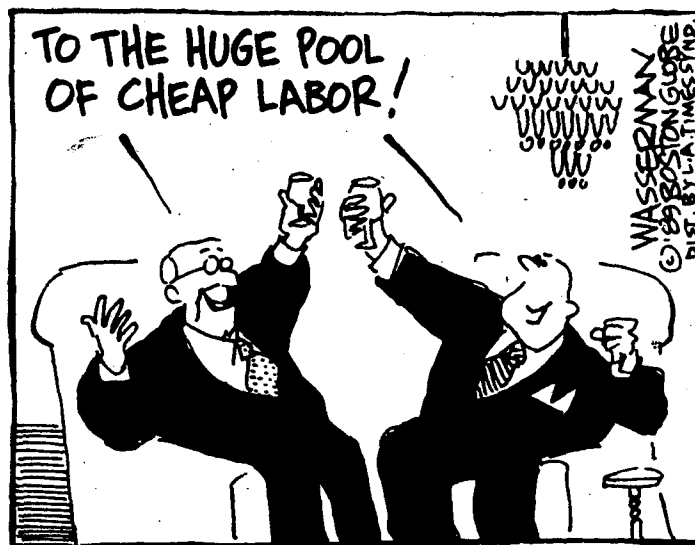
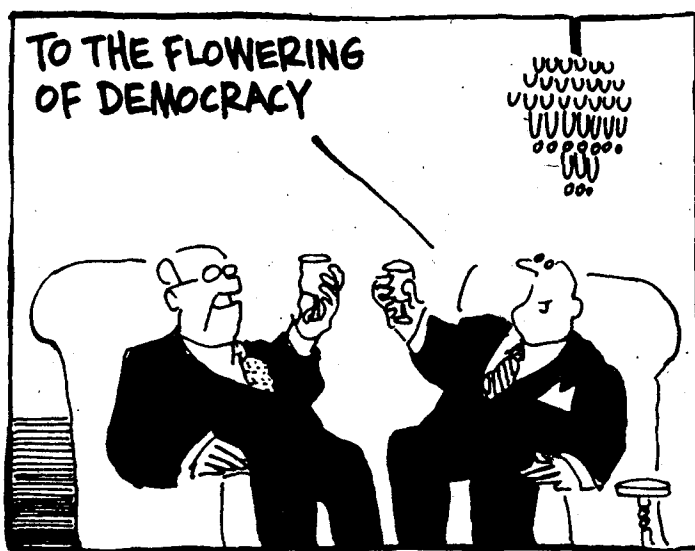
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Communism's collapse is not necessarily capitalism's triumph

Karl Marx' idea of socialism was a society characterized by both liberty and equality—one that would guarantee the full and free development of every individual. The longtime goal of a socialist state, Marx wrote, would be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This dream would be a real possibility, though, only in the most highly developed industrial countries, and it was capitalism's historical role to create the material basis for such a society of abundance.

When Marx wrote about socialist society, he referred to it as one governed by the "dictatorship of the proletariat." But he envisioned the proletariat as a near-universal class that included all who had to work for a living, no matter how highly educated or skilled—everyone, in other words, except those who lived off the proceeds of their capital. It was, as it turned out, an easily misunderstood concept. But it was not meant to imply an absence of political democracy under socialism, only the existence of a class that included within its ranks all the skills needed to run a modern society and with the political experience and will to do so.

Until the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, most socialists shared Marx' view of socialism as a process that would extend the limited political democracy already achieved—in countries like Germany, Britain and the United States—to the broader social realm of each nation's economy. But few people thought about the specific form such a society would take, preferring to follow Marx—who believed in postponing that decision because the form that socialism would take would be determined by the specific historical conditions of the country in which the revolution occurred.

And, indeed, that's what happened. The Soviet Communists became the definers of socialism by leading the first successful seizure of power in its name. And they created a socialism based on their specific historical circumstances—Russia's czarist political traditions and the necessity of using their state power to force rapid industrialization on a resistant population. The Soviet Communists turned Marx on his head. Russia was the most backward and least developed major capitalist country, not the most advanced. It had a

tiny working class, and an enormous majority of the population were illiterate peasants. To bring order to the country and force the process of industrialization required heroic—or draconian—methods of rule. So the party seized a monopoly of power. Governing in the name of the working class, it retained the czarist bureaucracy, much of it simply taken over from the old regime.

The West, particularly the rulers of the United States, were delighted to accept the Soviet Union's characterization of itself as socialist. It was, after all, a relatively backward country run by a party dictatorship, one that lent itself to the kind of horrors that occurred when Stalin converted it into a personal dictatorship.

Despite all of the oppression and corruption inherent in this monopoly of power by a small group, Communism was a viable system during the years of forced industrialization and world war. But the more it moved into the modern world, the less well Soviet-style Communism worked. It needed modern technology to keep up with the rest of the world, but modern technology required open communications and high levels of individual initiative, both of which were incompatible with the existing centrally controlled bureaucratic system. As Mikhail Gorbachov understood, to modernize meant first to democratize. But democratization also threatened to destabilize all the Communist governments in Europe.

There were no two ways about it, so Gorbachov and the rest of the Soviet leadership took the chance. And the result is the most sweeping peaceful democratic revolution in history.

Now, however, socialism is back to square one. While it is understandable that many in the West—and in the East—see the collapse of the Communist version of socialism as a triumph of capitalism, it may turn out to be an even greater opening for democratic socialism. Capitalism, after all, consists of more than allowing the market mechanism to be the primary determinant of prices. Modern capitalism is also a form of society dominated by a small handful of giant corporations that operate just as much in their own narrow self-interest as have the Communist bureaucracies. Capitalism has already created the basis for a society of abundance, but only a small percentage of the population in capitalist countries live in comfort and security, much less equality.

For the working people of Eastern Europe, capitalism has a great allure in this euphoric moment because it is understood as the antithesis of Communism. But this moment will quickly pass, and when it does the people of Eastern Europe will have to sort out the good from the bad of each system. It will be a long and in many ways difficult process; but also potentially the most exciting period in modern world history.

LETTERS

More than a lobby

IN SALIM MUWAKKIL'S FAIR-MINDED INSIDE STORY article, "Blacks, liberals, split on criticizing Israel" (*ITT*, Nov. 22), there was a quote from an article of mine that appeared as the cover story in the November issue of the *Progressive* on the failure of liberals to address the issue of Israeli human-rights violations and the rights for Palestinians to a state of their own alongside Israel. Unfortunately, the specific quote was a reference to the influence of the powerful pro-Israel lobby, an issue that I indeed addressed but downplayed later in the article.

Instead, I argued that a variety of other factors, including the exaggerated perception of a powerful pro-Israel lobby (based in part on anti-Semitic stereotypes of a wealthy, intolerant and monolithic Jewish community), the ideological blinders of a generation of liberals influenced by memories of the Holocaust and the failure of the left effectively to challenge U.S. Middle East policy were of far greater importance in understanding the hypocritical stance of liberal political leaders. To give the credit (or blame) to one special-interest group for this phenomenon assumes a level of pluralism that simply does not exist in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy.

Stephen Zunes
Whitman College
Walla Walla, Wash.

Smart lady

IN HIS REVIEW OF TWO BOOKS ON THE FUTURE OF socialism (*ITT*, Nov. 15), David Moberg suggests that "socialism" is just too abstract a term to supply more than a vague outline of the policies socialists should pursue when they achieve political power. This has, or ought to have, certain consequences for armed revolutionary movements like the ANC or the FMLN. Instead of claiming to fight for socialism, perhaps they should say simply that they are fighting against the current repressive, unjust and murderous regime and leave it at that. The goal then becomes internationally monitored elections in an atmosphere free of violence and repression. Let the electorate decide what comes next. (Suggested slogan: "We haven't a clue; you decide what to do.")

The woman I live with thinks this is the dumbest idea she ever heard. I must confess, it sounds a bit silly and utopian even to me, though no more silly and utopian than the idea of "vanguard" parties it is intended to replace. And, come to think of it, aren't the platforms, as it were, of the ANC and of Polish Solidarity a lot like this already?

Jeff Bogdan
Fair Haven, N.J.

Critical standards

WILLIAM GASPERINI SAYS THAT THE CONTRAS "attack isolated farm cooperatives, long considered military targets because they had been organized by the state and defended by local militias" (*ITT*, Nov. 8). This implies that the contras attack cooperatives only after having concluded that they were truly "military targets," and that this is not merely a rationalization of attacks made for less moral considerations. There is even the implication that this argument

is well taken, as there is no answer given or question raised about the rationale. The contra public-information department could hardly ask for a better statement of the case.

Gasparini also tells us that Ortega's action in terminating the cease-fire "damaged Managua's standing with other regional governments," and that anti-Ortega sentiments in Washington have grown "primarily" because of his "less-than-diplomatic" behavior. How does Gasparini know these things? Furthermore, are these regional governments independent and unbiased? Are the Democrats? Do they treat actions by Ortega and the U.S. neutrally? Where is Gasparini's context of the history of negotiating efforts in the '80s, the U.S. role in these, and the background, terms and levels of enforcement in the region of the most recent peace agreement?

By reporting on the opinions (or imagined opinions) of the main actors and failing to ask independent questions, provide context and apply a critical standard, Gasparini emulates mainstream reportorial "objectivity." All critical analyses of newswork recognize that these practices allow the powerful to fix the agenda and the definition of news. Theoretically, and usually in practice, it is the function of a paper like *In These Times* to depart from the agenda of the powerful. Gasparini fails to serve such a function in this article.

Edward S. Herman
Penn Valley, Pa.

Zeroing in

IMAY ONCE IN A WHILE DISAGREE WITH *IN THESE Times*' politics (have you ever heard of American socialists not disagreeing with one another?), but *ITT* consistently demonstrates class and good taste. Your "Goodbye to All This" feature (*ITT*, Nov. 1) is a prime example.

I must, however, disagree with saying goodbye to the "Zero-Year Dead Presidents Theory" which, for those who don't know, is the playing out of an old Indian curse that condemns every U.S. president elected in a year ending in zero to die in office. It seems James Monroe, elected in a year ending in zero—1820—sent the Georgia and Florida Seminoles to Oklahoma in a deadly winter march that killed many along the way. The curse one of their chieftains prescribed befell every eligible president until Reagan: W.H. Harrison elected in 1840, Lincoln in 1860, Garfield in 1880, McKinley in 1900, Harding in 1920, FDR in 1940 and JFK in 1960. Reagan barely escaped the assassin's bullet shortly after his first term began.

The reason the old Indian curse seems to be broken, if only just barely, is because its root cause no longer applies. In the past

several decades the U.S. government has finally started treating the American Indian decently. There have been numerous court decisions and settlements granting Indians fabulous sums of money, huge tracts of land, mineral rights, etc., in settlement for broken treaties and other injustices. Even in cases where the Indians lost or refused to accept the judgment, the government offered generous settlements, e.g., Cape Cod and the Black Hills. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 applied to American Indians as well as African-Americans and provided protections and rights for them long previously denied. Government agencies charged with Indian welfare are at long last being staffed by Indians and non-Indians sympathetic to their plight.

The denouement of the Indian curse is a reflection of the progress the U.S. is making in doing right by the American Indian. Reagan's close brush suggests, however, that we cannot rest on our laurels; instead, we as a society must continue to press for proper restitution to Indians for every unprovoked attack and broken treaty.

Dino Joseph Drudi
Washington, D.C.

Equal time?

IS IN *THESE TIMES* BLACKLISTING PALESTINIAN authors? It certainly looks that way. I have been reading *ITT* since it started publishing in 1976, and my estimate is that articles by Israelis outnumber articles by Palestinians by about 100 to 1.

When important Palestinian developments are covered by Israelis, the result is often bad reporting. For example, in 1988 when the PLO issued its Algiers proclamation recognizing Israel, *ITT*'s sole coverage was a piece by Walter Ruby, the New York correspondent for the *Jerusalem Post*. Predictably, Ruby proclaimed the PLO "ambiguous" and "disingenuous" and claimed that the international reporters were "the victims of a highly sophisticated disinformation campaign" by the PLO.

The Palestinians have been oppressed for 40 years. During most of that time they have been excluded from the U.S. media. Since the uprising began, part of the mainstream U.S. media has started to allow the victims to tell their story. In the spring of 1988 a special week-long edition of *Nightline* gave equal time to several Israelis and Palestinians. In one week *Nightline* thus allowed the Palestinians more opportunity to speak for themselves than *ITT* has in its 13 years of publication. Recently, even the timid and mainstream *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* balanced an Israeli journalist with Rashid Khalidi. Equal time is a basic journalistic con-

cept, but *ITT* has not applied it to Palestinians. *ITT* claims to cover the stories that the mainstream media ignores, but actually the mainstream media is leading the way, especially in television.

In its 13 years of publication, *ITT* has never published a single account, written from a Palestinian perspective, about the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, about the massacre at Sabra and Chatila refugee camps, about the conditions faced by the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, about housing, employment and racial discrimination, or about the original creation of the Palestinian refugee problem. What's wrong with equal time? And what's wrong with *In These Times*?

John W. Farley
Henderson, Nev.

School reform

IN HIS ARTICLE ON CHICAGO'S NEW SCHOOL-REform program (*ITT*, Oct. 11) David Moberg asserts that the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) "has not been actively training teachers in how to cooperate in school reform." This statement is both incorrect and uninformed.

On March 31 and April 1, 1989, the Chicago Teachers Union, in cooperation with its parent organization, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), held a training program for more than 1,000 elected teacher and school-related personnel worksite union leaders for the specific purpose of encouraging positive involvement in implementing the School Reform Act. A major focus of that training was on building coalitions with parent and community organizations.

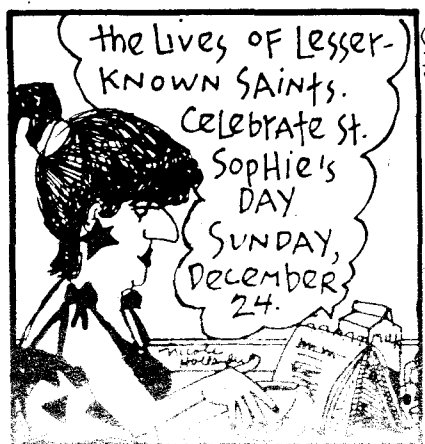
On April 8 the CTU joined with the Citizens School Committee, the Urban League, the United Neighborhood Organization of Chicago, the PTA, the Principals Association and the Chicago Panel on School Policy and Finances to conduct a program for more than 1,400 school, parent and community leaders. The purpose of the training was to build school/community coalitions so that school reform would be indeed based at the grass roots. Funding for this conference was provided in part by the AFT.

These programs were only the initial pieces of large-scale and continuing efforts of the CTU and AFT to build the kind of community-based coalition that is essential for meaningful school reform to succeed in a large and overly centralized urban educational system.

John H. Stevens
Director, Union Leadership Institute
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

John Kotsakis
Leadership Development Coordinator
Chicago Teachers Union, Local #1
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

SYLVIA



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St. Sophie, patron saint of capricorns, mimes, and people who work through lunch. She is often portrayed with a serious expression and tight lips.



Her day is celebrated by getting together with friends to discuss responsibility. A splinter group celebrates by wearing hot pink satin jackets and tight clothing while dancing the night away.

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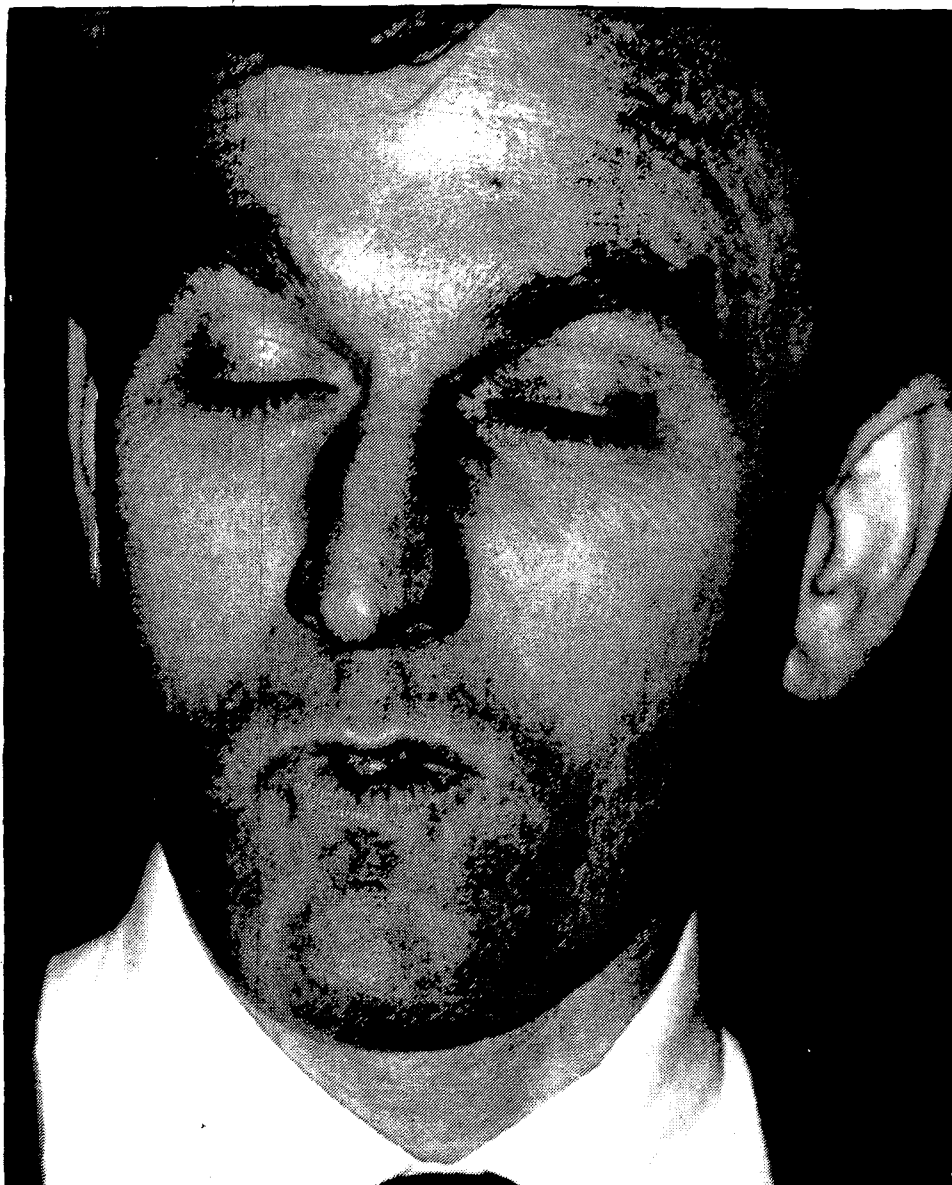
Crowe takes on the super-hawk

By James Petras

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING of the coup attempt in Panama has provoked a wide-ranging debate that reflects issues of great historical impact—far beyond the controversies over “missed opportunities” and problems of “faulty communications” and “fearful chiefs of staff.” The real issue posed concerns a determination of the major priorities of U.S. policy. Should policy focus on marginal Third World regimes or on the U.S.’ declining economic position in the world marketplace? Should the U.S. pursue a risky ideological-military interventionist agenda abroad at the cost of polarizing public opinion at home? Underlying each option is a different appreciation of the U.S. world position and of the relative weight that each assigns to political will and objective structural constraints.

The Reagan administration and its most outspoken spokespersons opted for the Third World policeman perspective and emphasized ideology over economics. Its policy was grounded in the notion that by projecting power it creates “new facts” (a new and favorable configuration of power); it consistently downplayed the economic/political costs and constraints. The Bush administration—at least as evidenced in its foreign policy to date—has defined its approach in somewhat more prudent terms. It has made an attempt to reduce the focus on ideological conflicts in marginal regions (e.g., contras in Central America) and increase the importance of economic issues in major countries (e.g., debt issues of Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela). Likewise, the Bush administration's restraint in committing U.S. troops to Panama reflects a wish to avoid domestic polarization and popular opposition to the larger military spending program (a likely outcome if hundreds of U.S. servicemen are killed or injured). While signs of prudence based on realism are welcome, the administration's underlying commitment to intervention is unchanged. Stimulated by pressures from congressional Democrats and Republican hawks, Bush has sought to reactivate the role of CIA operatives in clandestine operations while funding the contra military incursions in Nicaragua.

Those in the Bush administration who



Elliott Abrams: his record shows that the master of diatribe is also the master of defeats.

advocate prudence do so on the basis of a realistic assessment of the U.S.’ declining global position and capabilities. The opposition, a strange amalgam of Reaganite ideologues and liberal congressional Democrats, assume a cost-free interventionist policy that will evoke the patriotic fervor of the American public and re-establish U.S. standing as a world power. This debate came to a head recently in the media in an unusual exchange between one-time Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams and Adm. William Crowe, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff. The positions taken defy the usual clichés about hawks and doves: Abrams, the corporate lawyer turned State Department functionary (draft deferred

during the Vietnam War), accused the admiral of refusing to use force in Panama to oust Noriega; Crowe argued against putting Americans at risk and undermining U.S. relations in Latin America.

Failure of a dream of glory: The larger question of whether the U.S. should continue to play the role of political gendarme to the Third World has enormous consequences for U.S. policy directions over the next few years. A retrospective evaluation of U.S.-Latin American policy during the Abrams years reveals that the master of diatribe is also the master of defeats. Abrams focused on three areas: Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador and Panama), the struggle against the drug trade, and the

Latin American debt crisis.

In Central America, his contras were defeated, U.S. officials were implicated in the Iran-contra drugs and arms scandal, and the U.S. (and Abrams) was bypassed by its Central American clients when a settlement was reached. In El Salvador, 70,000 civilians were killed, mostly by the Abrams-backed Salvadoran military and police forces, yet the FMLN continues as a major force controlling one-third of the countryside. In Panama, the administration's get-tough policies, designed to doom Noriega in “a matter of weeks,” actually strengthened Noriega, bankrupted U.S. economic and political allies and undermined a possible negotiated exit.

In the drug war, during Abrams’ term of office, the illicit drug industry (production, processing and shipment to the U.S.) was the only high-growth sector in Latin America. The linkages among the drug cartels, the U.S.-financed contra commanders and anti-Sandinista generals in Honduras and Guatemala contributed to the failures of U.S. drug interdiction programs.

Finally, Abrams’ preoccupation with ideological and military intervention in Central America prevented the U.S. from developing a coherent policy toward the debt problem. As a result, U.S. exports declined 40 percent, and the ’80s will go down in Latin American history as the Lost Decade—declining incomes, stagnant growth and mass popular discontent.

Unintended consequences: Absent a debt policy, pro-U.S. forces that emerged during the early to mid-’80s in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico are in retreat, challenged by a new breed of radical nationalist and socialist movements. Abrams’ ideological posturing may result in self-fulfilling prophecies: the social and economic polarization and breakdown may provoke the very military intervention that he advocates.

The Abrams-Crowe exchange is an excellent example of role reversal: Abrams is the corporate lawyer turned militarist; Crowe, the admiral, reminds us of the larger political interests and human casualties that are at stake. Abrams is not only reactionary but wrong. Crowe is not only more concerned with American lives, but also politically more realistic. Sending U.S. troops into Panama would once again lower the barrier on U.S. military and CIA intervention. The already-precarious U.S. economic position would be further destabilized by new military costs; the spark of anti-interventionist demonstrations could ignite the latent discontent in the inner cities and among low-paid workers. International public opinion (East and West) applauding Gorbachov’s policy of non-intervention can hardly be expected to support U.S. intervention.

The world of the ’90s no longer resembles Pax Americana of the ’50s. The battleground is now in the arena of economics, not ideology. If Adm. Crowe has done nothing else, he has highlighted the constraints operating against using U.S. troops in Third World interventionary adventures. The question is whether the Bush administration will succumb to the military metaphysics of arm-chair military strategists and neoconservative ideologues or transcend the Reaganite ideological legacy and fashion a policy in tune with the anti-interventionist tide of the ’90s.

James Petras teaches sociology at the State University of New York, Binghamton.

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By Richard B. Du Boff

TO NOBODY'S SURPRISE, THE U.S. RIGHT is now claiming that the West's "victory" in the Cold War is a result of its "foreign-policy hard line," in the words of *New Republic* editor Charles Krauthammer. The pressures of "an all-out arms race" and "the Reagan doctrine [of] a worldwide anti-communist guerrilla campaign ... came as a shock to the Soviets.... Their only hope was to abandon a losing contest. They sued for peace."

The timing of recent events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe lends plausibility to this argument. The problem, however, is that it represents counterfactual reasoning—namely, that without such U.S. pressure the "breakup of the Soviet empire" would never have occurred. While such a proposition cannot be disproved, there is no way to prove it either. And the evidence at hand points firmly against it. This is another example of the historical amnesia and economic fantasy that have long been calling cards of the right.

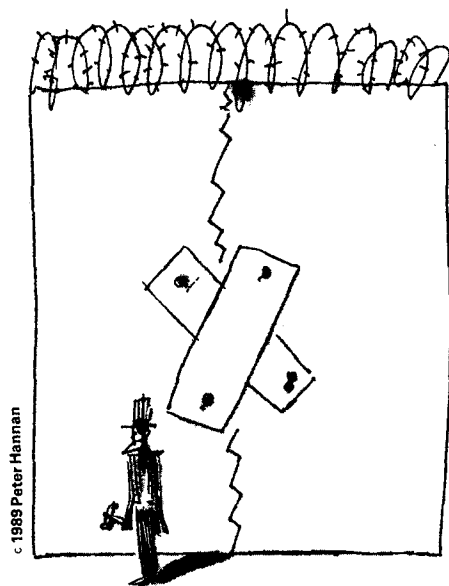
Made in America: The 40-year history of the arms race is one of U.S. technological innovations and Soviet responses. The atom bomb, hydrogen bomb, military intercontinental ballistic missile, nuclear submarine, multiple independently targeted and maneuverable-adjustable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs and MARVs) and cruise missile all are American in origin. As Herbert York, President Eisenhower's director of defense research, stated in 1970, "our unilateral decisions have set the rate and scale for most of the individual steps in the strategic arms race." Even Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger testified in 1982 that "we have an immense edge in technology."

Every step of the way the Soviets lagged three to five years behind. Nonetheless, they closed all of these gaps, at least sufficiently to eliminate U.S. nuclear supremacy and to deprive the Pentagon of any effective first-strike capacity. This means that from 1949 through 1970 the Soviets managed to expand their military capabilities under more severe economic constraints than they ever faced in the '80s, even with the drain of Afghanistan—significantly smaller supplies of labor and capital and lower levels of industrial efficiency. In other words, the Soviets have demonstrated that they will do whatever it takes to blunt any U.S. military buildup. There is little reason to believe that the Soviets would be unable to offset another U.S. escalation of the arms race, even with the economic dislocations now besetting them.

There is further cause for turning the neoconservative argument on its head: the history of the Cold War also suggests that the 1989 thaw might well have taken place years earlier had the U.S. not pursued what political scientist Bradley Sharf calls "periods of bellicosity toward Central Europe." Reformers within the East German Communist Party, he notes, "are winning—despite the many obstacles created by American intransigence."

He might have added that as far back as March 1952 the Soviets proposed negotiations on reunification of Germany, with a draft treaty including unexpected concessions on German membership in the United Nations, retention of a small army, civil liberties and free elections for the entire country, with the stipulation that a reunited

U.S. historical amnesia at end of the Cold War



Germany remain neutral. So serious were the Soviets that East German Communist leaders were warned that their regime would have to be "liquidated" in the interests of unifying Germany. To no avail: the Soviet bid was dismissed by the U.S., as Secretary of State Dean Acheson insisted that the "colossal effort" to construct NATO in 1949 was not negotiable. Another Soviet overture on Germany and European security was made in October 1954. This too was rejected. Seven months later the Warsaw Pact was signed.

Little has really changed: The "end of the Cold War" has been marked by a wide range of Soviet initiatives, from repeal of the "Brezhnev doctrine" in Eastern Europe to significant concessions on the arms race. The U.S. response may be described as evolving from hostile (when White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater labeled Mikhail Gorbachov "a drugstore cowboy") to belated to embarrassingly inadequate. In one extraordinary development, the Soviets have granted Westerners unprecedented access to nuclear installations on their soil and operational nuclear warheads aboard front-line vessels. Of course, this is part of a campaign to get the U.S. to discuss naval weaponry levels in particular, but as Defense Secretary Dick Cheney restated in early December, the U.S. has "no interest in negotiations on naval arms control."

The thaw might have occurred years earlier had the U.S. not pursued what one critic calls "periods of bellicosity" toward Central Europe.

Most significantly, while the Soviet Union is almost desperately attempting to terminate the Cold War, the U.S. continues to pursue it for all it's worth in Afghanistan, Vietnam and Cambodia, Angola, Nicaragua and El Salvador. For the Bush administration, the "end of the Cold War" is serving two principles of U.S. foreign policy—what might be termed the "natural law" and the

"Camp David" principles. In a present-day version of the "natural law" economics of the 18th and early 19th centuries, U.S. policy makers—as well as West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl—seem to count on a natural extension of free-market capitalism throughout Eastern Europe. And following the Camp David precedent of 1978, when one side (Israel) used a widely hailed agreement as a means for neutralizing its chief adversary (Egypt), Bush foresees an end to "Soviet interventionism" in the Third World, leaving the U.S. a clear field for isolating and stamping out leftist insurgencies in Latin America and elsewhere once and for all.

Possibly the cruelest blow to the neoconservative case is events behind their beloved "iron curtain" itself. Since the '60s, reform movements have been gaining momentum—irregularly and with some devastating setbacks—throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. As Eric Alterman pointed out in the *New York Times* (November 12), grass-roots political movements in Eastern Europe have been documented for years, North American- and European-based peace and democracy groups have worked with informals in five

Eastern bloc countries for nearly a decade, and some students of the Soviet Union have been predicting reforms since the '70s. The accession of Mikhail Gorbachov to leadership of the Soviet Union in March 1985 obviously constituted a break with the Stalinist-Brezhnevite past. In fact, the present economic disarray in the Soviet Union appears to be as much a product of the Gorbachov political reforms as vice versa, concentrated as it is in the nation's distribution of agricultural produce and industrial supplies.

But these are exactly the changes that Charles Krauthammer, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Jean-François Revel and other neoconservative stars assured us could never happen. Remember Kirkpatrick's celebrated article in *Commentary* (November 1979), with its distinction between "traditional authoritarian governments" friendly to the U.S. that are unsavory at times but "do sometimes evolve into democracies" (like South Korea, South Africa and, presumably, El Salvador), and "totalitarian regimes" that are cast in iron (like the Soviet Union)? Remember Kirkpatrick's conclusion that "the history of this century provides no grounds for expecting that radical totalitarian regimes will transform themselves?"

O Silent Jeane, where are you now that we need you to show us how to break down the Washington wall surrounding U.S. foreign policy and its bloated military budgets?

Richard B. Du Boff teaches economics at Bryn Mawr College.

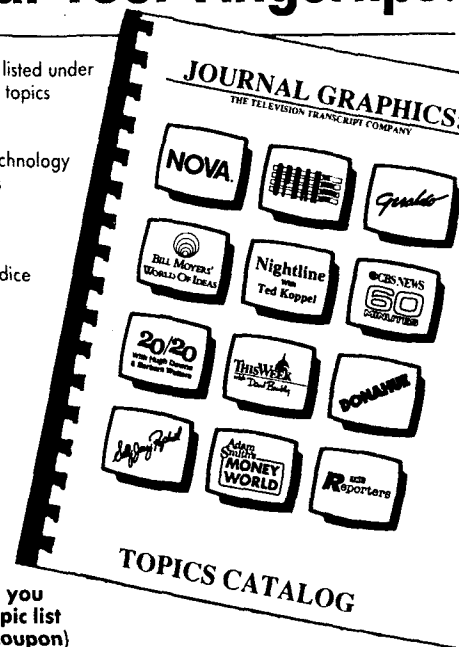
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By Nan Levinson

M.I.T. exhibit goes beyond just throwing art at problems

SO MUCH OF AMERICA NOW IS surface; what you see isn't what you get," says Dana Friis-Hansen, curator of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology List Visual Arts Center, in discussing why he decided to mount an exhibit of artwork that addressed topical social and political concerns. The events of the summer—Supreme Court decisions, the Mapplethorpe show, the flag-burning debate—got Friis-Hansen thinking about the role of art in society and at his gallery. "You can't solve a problem by throwing art at it," he says, "but I realized that institutions, by virtue of their positions, have the power to change attitudes."

Under a program called Local Visions, the List Center shows lesser-known Boston artists. Friis-Hansen postponed the exhibit he had planned for this fall and instead began lining up artists for the recent exhibit, "Trouble in Paradise."

"When I first came here [MIT], friends accused me of going to work for the Department of Defense," says Friis-Hansen. "That's not true directly, but we find ourselves attracted to artists who explore the connection between the heart and the mind, machines and the human body or a romantic past and a mass-society future."

In "Trouble in Paradise," that attraction translated into work by 14 New England artists and artist teams who used a range of media to explore social ills including AIDS, militarism, industrial pollution, homelessness, sexism, racism and censorship. Little that's wrong in this country went unremarked, though the overall effect was surprisingly upbeat. Many of the artists were young and doing big pieces or crossing disciplines for the first time. There was a generous helping of humor throughout, and implicit everywhere was the understanding that the right to address social wrongs openly is a privileged response.

Realm of the censors: Thanks to a bunch of politicians who probably had something different in mind than encouraging artists' social engagement, "political art" is today's hot topic—though what that label means is open to debate. To promoters, it's a kind of caustic name-dropping (think of those mammoth benefit concerts); to the bombastic, it's shocking the bourgeoisie; to propagandists, it's approved doctrine; and to would-be censors, it's whatever they disagree with.

Add to that a consumer culture in which communal experience is expressed most eloquently in advertising slogans, and it becomes easy for something to seem political through its references or images without ever breaking from the prevailing order or challenging accepted ideas.

In contrast, the best work in

"Trouble in Paradise" was subversive and unsettling, providing an oddly welcome relief from politics as fashion statement or cudgel. It was as if these artists shifted the ground a little and then asked, so what does it feel like to have one leg shorter than the other?

As its title implies, the exhibit commented on and often embodied that great American tension between facade and underpinning, idealized and real, domestic and alien.

Take, for example, *Old Glory Condom Corp.*, a conceptual piece in which Jay Critchley created a corporate entity to market condoms with

ART

the American flag emblazoned on them. Having worked since 1981 at the edges where art, politics and business meet, Critchley took that decade of work to its logical conclusion.

He introduced his product at a well-attended press conference, then unveiled his marketing campaign, which had the polish of a trade-show exhibit and the bravado of soldiers being piped off to battle. There was a wall-sized logo of the American flag unfurling into a condom, with the company's logo, "Worn with pride country-wide," arched above; ads that blended patriotism with pragmatic action; a letter to President Bush asking for support for a public-private partnership in a war on AIDS; and coin-operated condom dispensers. Critchley hovered nearby in a three-piece suit, looking for investors to complete the piece.

Business as unusual: "We've gotten unbelievable coverage," he says from his home and corporate headquarters in Provincetown, Mass., "and we've gotten calls from condom people who want to invest. Next I hope to develop a marketing plan and go into business." In other words, part of Critchley's program is to become a corporate executive in an ongoing performance piece, or, as he says, to take on and examine the corporate culture from within.

"The piece is already complete," he notes. "You can't introduce a product more than once. But I've set up a challenge for myself as an artist: to become what I'm satirizing. Being a corporation legitimizes your ideas. The danger is that I'll get sucked in when the money starts coming."

Critchley's work doesn't usually show up in galleries. More often, he stages what he calls ceremonies and what others might call media events. Audience members are likely to be participants as well as viewers, and he uses humor to engage them in

the familiar as a way to provoke them and point up inconsistencies. In *Old Glory Condom Corp.*, for example, definitions of business and art keep sliding around—patriotism becomes a commodity ripe for the entrepreneur to patent, and sexuality is not just a subliminal marketing strategy but the point of the advertising itself. The result is playful, but it is serious play.

"I'm using the slickness and tranquility of the marketplace, that idea of life as usual, as a vehicle to penetrate below the surface," Critchley says. "It's ignorance and denial about sexuality that has increased people's chances of getting AIDS, and it's embarrassing how patriotism and the flag have been used for such ridiculous concerns. When I started this piece, I felt like using the most powerful symbol we have—the flag—to challenge people to view sexuality in a different way."

Critchley believes the humor in *Old Glory Condom Corp.* counteracts the cynicism of the marketplace, but photographer Carrie Mae Weems sees humor as much less benign. Weems contributed eight photographs to the List exhibit from her "Ain't Jokin'" and "American Icons" series, in which she examines images of black men and women in America.

Memory and memorabilia: Trained in art and folklore, Weems, who teaches at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., began her inquiry into racist humor and stereotypes as a way to talk about and critique American culture. In one of the portraits shown in "Trouble in Paradise," a black man in a cap stares into the camera. "What are three things you can't give a black person?" reads a placard beneath, which slides aside to reveal the punchline: "A black eye, a fat lip and a job." The real answer and the point of the piece, however, was the viewer's response. Weems observes that "there are real, devastating consequences of humor. Jokes really beg the question for the audience, which is where this stuff comes from."

In *American Icons*, Weems photographed still lifes of carefully arranged knickknacks, racist memorabilia that, interestingly, were made primarily in occupied Japan. "This memorabilia," says Weems, "served to fix permanently into the Anglo-American worldview the notion of blacks as subservient."

But Weems' intention was not merely to document symbolic and actual racism. Though her images were simple and uncluttered, their effect was highly discomforting, forcing viewers black and white to confront their own attitudes about race.

On the surface, Weems' work is what we are accustomed to seeing on the walls of galleries and museums—portraits, still lifes, well-made photographs—and in that gallery context it may be a deceptively simple thing to make the distinction between art that exposes racism and art that perpetuates it. But Weems isn't willing to let anyone off that easily. "All of us, whether we want to or not, have to confront ourselves," she says. "First you approach the photographs emotionally—with anger or guilt. Then once you're trapped, you have to figure out your reaction intellectually, but that comes later—for me too."

Burning ideas—and books: The confusion that arises when something difficult is aestheticized was embodied most effectively in *Department of Special Exhibitions in the Library of Babel*, an installation by experimental book artist Janet Zweig of Cambridge. Zweig selected 18 once-banned books that have since entered the literary canon, burned them and displayed them in an antique vitrine under velvet covers. On the exquisitely charred and curled pages a few defiant lines remained legible, as if to answer back from the ashes, and the labels with the titles and authors were also selectively blacked out to form a cryptic commentary of their own.

But Zweig knows that censorship is not a museum relic. The genesis of another piece was a 1985 newspaper article about a high school student who, noticing discrepancies between the *Romeo and Juliet* in his textbook and the version he saw on stage, traced them to Scott, Fores-

man, the textbook's publisher. The play had been "sanitized" by removing more than 300 lines, most of them sexual references. "That seemed really foolish," says Zweig. "This was a textbook for teenagers. *Romeo and Juliet* is about sex and death. If you take out all the sex and leave only the death, that seems perverse and misguided."

Zweig tried to find out if this bowdlerizing still went on, but met with resistance from the publishers. She finally contacted a helpful salesman who told her his company's textbook wasn't cut, but that it sold less well than those that were. He sent her a photocopy of the lines that were expurgated from Scribner and Prentice Hall textbooks.

Zweig's response was to turn the salesman's photocopy into a book for her "Trouble in Paradise" piece. The result, *The 336 lines currently expurgated from Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet in ninth grade textbooks*, was a chapbook with the instructions to photocopy and cut out the lines and reinsert them in the play where they belonged. But, typically, Zweig designed the book to be read in more than one way: as a replenishment for expurgated textbooks, a guerrilla action against corporate censorship, a way to poke fun at prudery and a racy read when followed from beginning to end. All of which gave Zweig a perverse pleasure.

"You work as an artist, and you feel really marginal," she says. "Then you find out that Jesse Helms thinks art is important enough to suppress. I think it's great that people like him feel threatened by the power of art. What I found heartening about this exploration is that it's hard to suppress art or literature. That, after all, is what both the installation and the book are all about."

Nan Levinson is a freelance writer who teaches at Tufts University.

Book artist Janet Zweig uncovers some secretly censored Shakespeare.

Drawing power from the art of the state

By Jeremiah Creedon

VISITORS TO THE WALKER ART Center in Minneapolis can currently see an exhibit called "Graphic Design in America: A Visual Language History." The Walker calls the show the first by a museum to examine the full range of American graphic design, from Andrew Jackson's campaign posters to a music video made for the Talking Heads.

The exhibit is fascinating for a number of reasons, most notably as an unparalleled sampler of visual candy. The works on display tend to be slick, vivid, colorful and immediate, which more or less defines the qualities shared by commercial modern graphic arts in general. (After its run at the Walker, the exhibit travels to Arizona's Phoenix Art Museum, New York's IBM Gallery of Science and Art, and London's Design Museum.)

I found the show quite absorbing, which is odd, for I could have had a similar experience and saved four dollars in any discount department store. The items on display at either place would be nearly the same: magazines, newspapers, maps, album covers, film and television graphics, computer gadgetry, various packages and a universe of corporate signs and symbols.

On another level, the show raises some interesting questions about modern art and the modern art museum. Putting magazine ads and corporate logos on display, for instance, challenges certain cultural assumptions about what art is—assumptions that museums traditionally have had a crucial role in maintaining.

The superficial result of this challenge is a new appreciation for graphic design, which the show's curator Mildred Friedman calls an "art form, widely seen but rarely noted." A more profound effect is the further suspicion this show creates about so-called serious art, which appears by comparison to be less removed from "commercial art" than most museums would like to admit.

The show thus becomes another inadvertent assault on two cherished notions about art: namely, that art is somehow removed from the marketplace, and that artists by nature possess highly individuated,

heroic sensibilities in tension with the crass values of their day.

Sins of omission: The purpose of graphic design is to communicate a message visually; the exhibit allows the viewer to marvel at cases where this purpose is achieved with great craft and imagination. A few examples on display are the posters created for the Works Progress Administration in the '30s and '40s, the German emigré Herbert Bayer's *World Geo-Graphic Atlas* published in 1953, and the visual teaching strategies pioneered more recently by the creators of *Sesame Street*. There are many others.

But the issue of whether the messages conveyed in commercial art always deserve such skillful treatment goes largely unaddressed here. It is often tougher to critique a document for what it omits rather than what it contains, but in this case the omissions become quite glaring.

Absent, obviously, is any reference to the vast amount of visual trash in the modern world. While the reasons for not showing examples of, say, dishonesty or sexual exploitation in modern advertising are

Only the most noble examples of graphic art are presented for view.

well-intended, the effect is misleading. To call this a "visual language history" is true only if the curators acknowledge it is a revisionist history as well.

Only the most noble examples of graphic art are presented for view. The selection process appears to have been based on both aesthetic and ideological factors, though as usual the distinction between them is unclear. For instance, the master designer Alexander Liberman's work in *Vogue* is deemed aesthetically and politically pleasing enough to be displayed. *Playboy*, which certainly was an innovation in the history of commercial graphics and perhaps more indigenous to this culture in its iconography, does not, of course, qualify.

In its bias, the exhibit implies that quality in American graphic art, at least since the arrival of European designers and their modernist con-

cepts in the '30s, has a link to progressive politics, or is at least the work of progressive artists forced by their adopted culture to suppress their beliefs. This is problematic.

Surface and substance: In one of several essays in the show's excellent catalogue, Lorraine Wild, a teacher of design history, addresses this issue. Her topic is the "moment when modernism, as a conceptual premise and visual style, began to take hold in American graphic design." She uses the case of Bayer, a one-time participant in the German

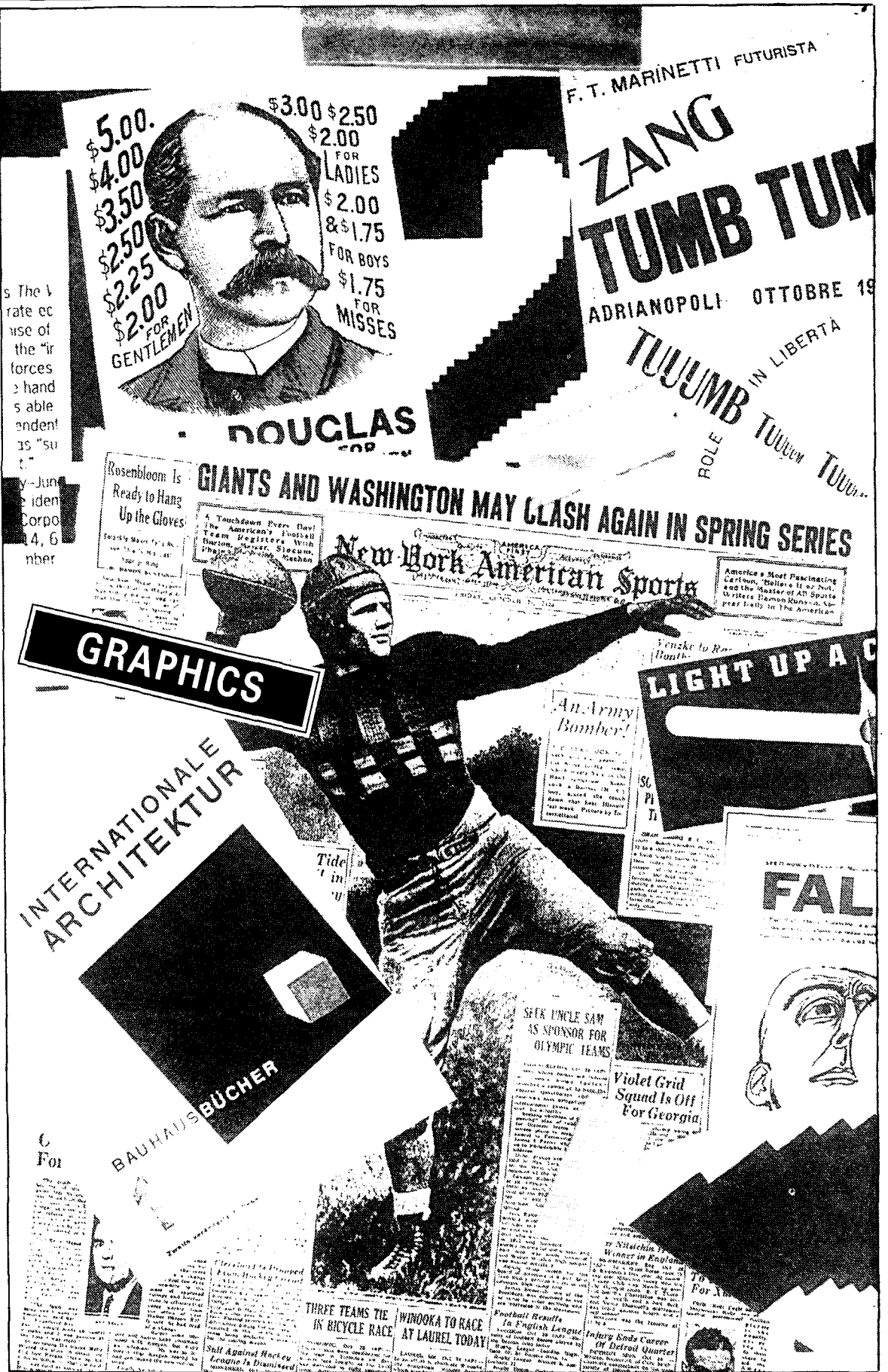
Bauhaus, to illustrate the way European modernist concepts were "aestheticized" upon their arrival in this country.

Wild writes that "although the philosophical basis of Bayer's undiluted European utopianism was never absorbed or adopted by Americans, many of its formal characteristics were." In order to revitalize graphic design today, Wild concludes, designers must look beyond mere modernist forms to "the principles behind them," that is, "the manifestos or ideology that had charac-

terized the movement in Europe."

But Wild's view that American graphic design became merely the husk of modernism stripped of its ideological soul can be debated. This dualistic sense of modernism denies that American "aesthetic" modernism also has a blatant ideological component. The commercialism that underlies modernist work in America is as much an ideology as the communism, futurism, fascism and Nazism it alternately served in Europe. The market ethic to which

Continued on following page



By Pat Aufderheide

Good Guys Drive Fords

When you see the good guy in a movie driving a Ford, don't expect the villain to do the same. That's because a New York public-relations firm, working for Ford, gives movie producers super-cheap cars. But to avoid negative connotations, Ford buys the bad guys Cadillacs. It's all part of the creeping process of total marketing. Meanwhile, people who like their advertising straight haven't been forgotten at the movies; ads at the beginning of the show at movie houses are becoming more common. The reason: advertisers are searching for the viewers (especially younger ones) who are fleeing network prime-time TV, and younger viewers are so accustomed to ubiquitous advertising that they offer no complaint.

Fear of Fairness

Ever since 1987, when the Federal Communications Commission retired the Fairness Doctrine—which required broadcasters both to air controversy and to do so fairly—Democrats in Congress have tried to reinstate it. Public-interest groups, especially concerned about the rise in advocacy advertising, have strongly backed the move. Reagan vetoed one such attempt, and legislators were planning to slip a fairness provision into the budget reconciliation. At the last minute, though, House Republicans managed to pull the provision this session. Democrats promise to bring up the issue again next session. In the meantime, many broadcasters are overjoyed. But a study by public-interest groups on the 1988 election provided a hint that broadcasters may still need a reminder of their obligations to the public interest, spelled out in the 1934 Communications Act. Many stations were unaware that they still had fairness obligations on ballot issues and often refused to air both sides of a referendum when one side had paid for advertising.

Making It Up

The controversy over using re-enactments in news programs, which blew up last summer when ABC failed to label a re-enactment used in its nightly news, is settled at NBC News. The network's news division has banned re-enactments and killed its *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* show. Apparently, focus-group studies showed people were getting confused. But NBC will go on using re-enactment in newslake and "reality" shows produced by the entertainment division, such as *Unsolved Mysteries*. This tempest in an ethical teapot also leaves to one side the issue of entertainment values in network news and public affairs shows that use no re-enactments. Consider NBC's record with sleazy "news" programming such as Geraldo Rivera's Satanism show and a recent sensationalistic prime-time special on women criminals.

Write What You Know

Want to make it big as a Hollywood scriptwriter? Don't get old, and don't be female or a minority. That's the word from the Writers Guild of America, whose report, "Unequal Access, Unequal Pay," shows that women earn 73 cents for every dollar earned by men, that minorities account for 2 percent of writers employed in film and TV, and that the median age is dropping dramatically. No wonder that, according to a report analyzing TV entertainment by the National Commission on Working Women, Hispanics, Asians and Native Americans are virtually invisible on entertainment TV; or that racial tension is erased; or that social injustice is reduce to individual conflict.

New Opportunities

While the White House hems and haws about the changes in the Communist world, U.S. advertisers are chomping at the bit. Already U.S. ad firms are exploring opportunities in Eastern Europe, and MTV is getting ready to expand there. In Vietnam, Pepsi is planning a deal—probably with the government—for production and plans to co-sponsor next May the country's first beauty contest. Coke is also checking out the options and has an edge; Coca-Cola presently sells on the Vietnamese black market for a dollar a can.

Political Home Video

During the next election, check your mailbox and get ready to turn on your VCR. Political parties are turning to home video. Direct-mail videos have done well for corporations and for public-interest groups and now have made their first trials in electoral campaigns. Made in bulk, such videocassettes can be produced for around two dollars a tape, but consumers still view cassettes—unlike "junk mail"—as something valuable.

©1989 Pat Aufderheide

Continued from preceding page

the Europeans lent their talents upon arriving here was simply the next, and most dominant, ideology that the visual language of modernism would represent.

In other words, there is no such thing as a *fallen* modernism. The art historian Robert Hughes, among others, might question Wild's implicit view that modernism per se had some original nobility. "The only moral" in the promiscuous history of modernism, writes Hughes, "apart from the familiar fact that artists tend to work for whoever pays them, is that modernist styles were value-free and could serve almost any ideological interest."

Though Wild's view is given no special status in the catalogue, the show overall seems to reflect her assumptions. Both assume the existence of a so-called pure modernism, a concept that fosters an idealized nostalgia for an art of integrity that, in fact, many never have existed. And both believe that art can be judged on purely "aesthetic" terms, even though the exhibit itself, with its obvious ideological bias, contradicts this.

In a show that invites the viewer to gaze on the GE or IBM logo as "art," and seeks to elevate certain graphic artists to an ascendant place alongside other modernist heroes, there are bound to be many contradictions. The exhibit can be read as a knot of contradictions, where various ideas about aesthetics, art, ideology and economics are hopelessly entangled—indeed, as they are in American society at large.

Clearly, creating a corporate image is an artistic act. These artists seem no more or less dependent on those in power than artists have been in other eras. The modern age for the last century or so may be different in having an idealized image of the artist—as the champion of individual genius, natural innocence, permanent revolution, whatever. But the number of William Blakes alive at any time is small when compared to the many artists who devote their energies to maintaining the social paradigms of the day.

And as the exhibit so clearly illus-

trates, these socialized or "commercial" artists are the ones who give shape to reality, and history too.

Impact versus power: One of the more interesting programs on public TV in recent years was called *Ancient Lives*, a series on daily life in an Egyptian artists' colony 3,000 years ago. This suburb of Thebes, the old Egyptian capital 350 miles southeast of present-day Cairo, was home to the painters and sculptors who decorated the royal tombs in the rock cliffs outside of town. The viewer sees vividly, when looking at their work, how graphic designers—here in the service of the state—have always been like the bandages on the Invisible Man, giving shape to an entity, a cultural moment, that otherwise would vanish into air.

The incredible impact that graphic artists have had, however, is not the same as power. Their talents are usually wielded by others, be they kings or CEOs. The commercial graphic artist becomes a kind of prosthetic appendage manipulated by someone—or some social order—with a shrewder sense of what to do with their gifted but unprogrammed dexterity.

Many commercial graphic designers share certain notions that make them vulnerable to political exploitation—like anyone committed to the idea that they are "apolitical," as so many designers I know claim to be. As I argued earlier, what they are schooled to consider "apolitical" and merely "aesthetic" is quite political, whether or not they can articulate the implicit ideologies they are hired to serve.

Ironically, graphic designers may be further paralyzed by the mystification of the artist. The "creatives" working in a corporate culture are often given more latitude in the little things, like working flexible hours, but in effect, this only gilds their cages. The illusion that they are freer than the average clerk is enough to keep most from exploiting the real power that is within their reach.

This power can be seen in the familiar logo of Poland's Solidarity movement, which gave the movement a symbolic form, a value in the global economy of signs that extended far beyond the shipyards at

Gdansk. I think it played an important part in Solidarity's success. Other groups, from Greenpeace to the Sandinistas—as well as AARP and the NRA—have also borrowed the art of corporate image-making for their own ends.

Most troubling to me as a writer is my observation that many graphic designers don't like to read. Though often working closely with printed matter, at newspapers and magazines, they often display a total indifference to the subject matter literally in hand. As non-readers, they tend to lack what reading develops—a respect for the written word, and a critical intelligence. The first trait directly influences their sense of design; the second renders them all the more open to manipulation.

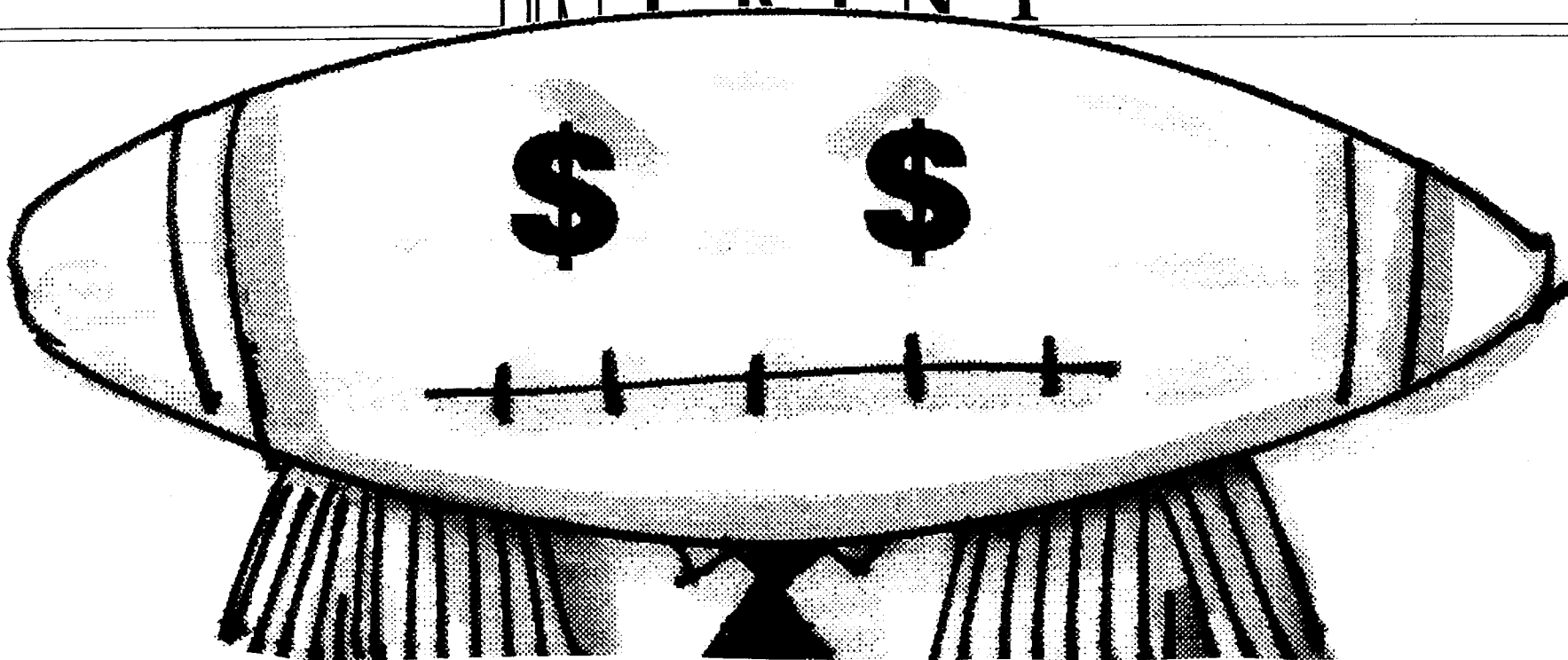
In a catalogue essay called "A Zero Degree of Graphics," the architect Joseph Giovannini argues that most publications today are overdesigned. "The new presentation upsets the balance," he writes. "The visual weight of the text becomes lighter than that of the non-text, and only 'vocal' writers like Tom Wolfe or 'hot' texts such as those in *Spy* magazine seem audible above the graphic volume."

Curator Friedman defines this view as the call for "a very conservative design vocabulary." The momentum of my own argument leads me to disagree—or rather, to put forth the paradox that so-called conservative design may be more conducive to progressive ends. My concern is that the current march of visual language over verbal language is often led by those without the critical skills and the historical perspective to see their actions in a political context.

A major concern would be that so-called "radical" graphic designers will undermine the mode of communication that remains most suited to critical discourse—the written word. Though enthralled by the superficial beauty of modern design, as so well represented in the Walker exhibit, I cannot at this point endorse trading the language of the Declaration of Independence for that of the smile button.

Jeremiah Creedon is a writer and critic living in Minneapolis.





c 1989 Peter Hannan

The Hundred Yard Lie: The Corruption of College Football and What We Can Do About It

By Rick Telander
Simon and Schuster
223 pp., \$17.95

By David Jacobson

RICK TELANDER IS A BULL IN A china shop, swinging accusatory horns at the sturdy yet vulnerable mythology that is both a cause and effect of the sorry state of big-time college football. In *The Hundred Yard Lie: The Corruption of College Football and What We Can Do About It*, Telander lays to waste several myths of big-time "amateur" athletics.

In a chapter titled "You Can't Let a Few Isolated Incidents Ruin the Sport for You," Telander outlines his outrage at the hypocrisy he experienced firsthand as a football player at Northwestern University in the late '60s, and later as the college football beat writer for *Sports Illustrated*. He does not relent until he has debunked the myth of "There's Nothing We Can Do," in which he

Rick Telander lays to waste several myths of big-time "amateur" athletics.

offers a 28-point plan for the creation of an Age Group Professional Football League.

By that time he has proven that big-time college football players are not amateurs, and that historically amateurism has served as little more than a class divider, anyway. By admitting that, Telander argues, there is a basis for dismantling the exploitative apparatus that essentially forces "student-athletes" to labor for free while the athletic de-

Hitting hard at the point of attack

partments (and, he carefully points out, *not* the university as a whole) rake in millions of dollars.

Telander freely admits the book is a diatribe, but his lapses into name-calling are nonetheless bothersome. Clearly, he is emotional

It is an admirable protest, but not as important as he seems to think in his frequent mentions of it.

Those lapses aside, he constructs strong arguments, supported by sources as disparate as psychologist Bruno Bettelheim and Richard Kieckhefer's *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu*. Even his argument about the importance of his argument is on target.

"Oh, I know I'm wrapped up in this thing and blinded by my closeness

to it and that there's a revolution going on in China and clear-cutting of the rain forests in Brazil and hyperinflation in Argentina and starvation in the Sudan and very strange times indeed in the USSR, and that on the canvas of the big ethical picture the scale of college football's shadow is very small. But what goes on in college football is important, very important. Even if you're like so many professors at so many universities who simply turn their noses from the stench and say, "Sports are

dumb, I will ignore them," you are affected by the corruption all the same. Big-time college football proves to all students—and, ultimately, all of us—that no matter what anybody says, winning, money and entertainment are our gods. Knowledge, truth, integrity? They're OK—in their place. But let's not let them get in the way of what's really important."

That's no bull.

David Jacobson is a writer living in Chicago.

SPORTS

about his subject. Like Howard Cosell, who quit announcing boxing out of disgust, Telander claims he will no longer cover college football:

NOTEBOOK

You Can Do Something About AIDS

Various authors, various publishers
Sasha Alyson, editor
126 pp., \$1

Books that move a million copies tend to be either glitzy trash novels or religious giveaways à la Gideon. But one recent exception to this rule of thumb offers good news for modern man (and woman) without a shred of glitz.

This million-seller—*You Can Do Something About AIDS*—is aimed at those intent on marshaling their resources to combat the disease. The 126-page paperback contains short essays by AIDS activists, government officials and media figures. The collection includes celebrity calls to action as well as recommendations for conducting locally-based medical research. Taken together, the pieces plead for compassion, tolerance and education—small but necessary steps for communities about to confront the disease.

In one essay former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop outlines the need for long-term caution and education while reducing social paranoia. But the book also goes beyond such measured generalities to include more specific information, such as a piece

on prejudicial media buzzwords penned by Carter White House press secretary Jody Powell. *You Can Do Something About AIDS* also suggests possible organizing and educational strategies for people in various trades—teachers, school boards, clergy, health workers, journalists and artists.

The book offers valuable appendices that list national, state and local organizations involved in AIDS issues and the various publications produced on the subject. They direct readers to experienced organizations that can provide direction and warn of pitfalls.

Alyson Publications in Boston coordinated the participation of larger publishers and distributors for this public-service venture. A second printing will make it available in January in bookstores across the country at a symbolic price of \$1.

—Ray Walsh

War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We Can Do About It

By Brian Glick
South End Press, 92 pp., \$5

When the news broke in 1988 that the FBI had been infiltrating and disrupting offices of the Committee in Solidarity With the Peo-

ple of El Salvador from 1981 to 1985, it seemed like déjà vu all over again. Sadly, routine felonies committed by the FBI against citizens practicing their constitutional right to dissent have been a bad habit since at least the early '60s. Besides widespread breaking and entering, personal threats and vandalism, government operatives have long specialized in rumor-mongering and bogus leafletting (and a host of psychological mind games) to keep "progressives" in disarray (as if we needed any help).

In this slim activist primer, Brian Glick sprints through the history of U.S. government harassment and offers a handful of rules for radicals. And while *War at Home* careens at times toward diatribe, it doesn't aim to be an elegant polemic—just a useful handbook for tactics.

Chilling government documents included at the end of the book outline the U.S. assault on black dissenters and the New Left in the '60s (and beyond). Although all of this information has been available before, it is no less appalling for being well known. And despite ample justification for activists' fears, Glick ends up accentuating pragmatism, not paranoia.

—Jeff Reid

Cat Lovers Against the Bomb

1990 Calendar
New Society Publishers, 12 pp., \$7.95
(From Nebraskans for Peace,
Suite 426A, 129 North 10th St.,
Lincoln, NE 68508)

Only a few animals—humans and cats among them—are known to kill for sport. So it is perhaps perversely appropriate that these two intermittently malevolent species should team up. (Though I find it suspicious that they've come together for the greater good—remember, these are the diabolical creatures who brought you Canadian postal codes and *Police Academy* sequels on the one hand, and coughed up fur balls and nearly dead mice on the other.)

Maybe it's just a case of two negatives making a positive. But even if you're not fond of *felis* (sort of) *domestica*, you've got to love this calendar's anti-war sentiment. And it's cute to boot.

But what's next? Cats Across America? Don't hold your breath. If you think it's tough to get humans to loiter in the desert touching strangers for a dubious propaganda benefit, how about replaying the same scenario featuring 15 million finicky Morris? Better bring a ton of catnip.

—Jeff Reid

Cold War

Continued from page 9

Besides changing their name, the Communists should "say openly that Leninism was a complete disaster, a tragedy," said Gardner, who was especially unforgiving of the Italian Communists' opposition to the deployment in Italy of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles and, more recently, of dual capable U.S. F-16 fighter bombers forced to leave Spain.

The U.S. opposition seems more and more ludicrous as non-Communists govern Poland and the Italian Communist (or whatever) Party drifts ever further from the left. The end of the Cold War means that the U.S. veto has lost its teeth: the implicit threat of a CIA-backed coup against any Italian government with Communists in it. The next step is for someone like the Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi to want to display his heroism by defying Uncle Sam to make a coalition government with a tamed and renamed PCI.

Time may be running out to surprise anybody with such a grandstand play, as NATO ceases to be an anti-communist alliance and becomes a stabilizer of European transformations, in coordination with the Warsaw Pact.

The U.S. Ambassador to Bonn, Gen. Vernon Walters, in the course of a French radio interview, said the cascade of changes in the East were "a stroke of luck" for the U.S. "I was afraid our presence would be an issue in the West German elections next year," he said. "It may still be, but to a much slighter degree."

For the moment, the protests against low

training flights and other intrusive signs of foreign military presence are forgotten in West Germany. NATO is scarcely controversial, but only because it seems more and more safely anachronistic. Any return to insistence on modernization of short-range nuclear missiles (remember them?) seems out of the question. In a Europe that is feeling more and more like the economic and political center of the world—thanks very largely to Gorbachov—the U.S. seems more and more like a quaintly outdated power whose specialization in the military can still come in handy, like Swiss guards at the Vatican.

In France, there is great consternation and confusion over how to react to the rapidly approaching prospect of German reunification. The Socialist government says everything is fine. The conservative opposition, more nervous, is making divergent suggestions. Some urge emergency measures to tie the Federal Republic of Germany into the European Community (EC) with a monetary accord. There are those who would like to see the EC develop its own military force to give French—and British—nuclear weapons some sort of role. Others, like former Economics Minister Edouard Balladur, suggest that France should stress its Atlantic ties, cling to NATO and even welcome U.S. NATO forces back onto French soil, as an implicit counterweight to the Germans. Seeking his counterweight elsewhere, former Prime Minister Raymond Barre speaks of reviving France's traditional alliance with Russia.

With so many choices, France for the moment seems to be doing nothing. Meanwhile, history speeds ahead into its new unfamiliar and uncharted phase. □

Defense

Continued from page 3

dissipate existing resources or ignore workers and defense-dependent communities. For example, Grumman Corp. diversified to build new postal-service vehicles in Pennsylvania and Florida, rather than at their endangered defense plant on Long Island. But with advanced planning, most communities gained jobs after military-base closings in the '60s and '70s, Eugene Chollick of the Council on Economic Priorities argues.

Conversion partisans say planning can have the same benefits for factories, but there are virtually no recent conversion success stories. After World War II, many companies returned to prior civilian work, stimulated by pent-up consumer demand. But Reddick's survey of defense manufacturers found that most are "defense junkies [who are] quite reluctant to face the need for

change, still tilting to defense markets."

Yet Michael Closson, director of the Center for Economic Conversion, cautions that "conversion advocates overemphasize the ease of converting. I think it will be more like three to five years [to convert], and even then they might not be able to do it. The typical response is not to convert but merge or sell out. The majority of military-oriented firms will have significant difficulty converting even with federal legislation that mandates advanced planning."

Because it's hard to reorient defense managers and retrain engineers, successful adjustment requires government "getting fingers into the industrial structure to prod companies to do changes and planning they need to do," argues economist Lloyd Dumas of the University of Texas at Dallas.

The battle has only begun—first, to create a substantial peace dividend, and second, to invest it wisely. □

Namibia

Continued from page 11

Muyongo was once SWAPO vice president, and he said in 1979 that South Africa was planning to subvert Namibia's independence by installing a "regime of quislings"—meaning the DTA. Muyongo left SWAPO in the early '80s during a power struggle in which he was accused of embezzlement. He is now the DTA's assembly speaker, while Mudge does its legal research.

The elections' advertised purpose under Resolution 435 was to allow Namibians to democratically decide their future under free and fair conditions. But the elections were neither free nor fair since South Africa continued to govern Namibia during the campaign. The South African security forces, especially the notorious counterinsurgency unit known as Koevoet, were responsible for law and order during the campaign, despite the fact that these same security forces systematically arrested, beat and killed Namibians for decades.

South Africa ruled Namibia by intimidation. If and when the South African security state is dismantled, those who collaborated will lose a support base and fear will no longer buy votes—a situation likely to bring SWAPO consolidated power.

Spin control: What to do about the police force is a major issue. The South African administrator general (AG) has announced that former Koevoet members, who were finally removed from the police force in October under UNTAG pressure, can reapply for positions with the force. Nujoma says former Koevoet members will be banned from police work and retrained for development projects. Meanwhile the AG, with the hope of cleansing the police image, authorized a massive public-relations campaign in the media. The smarmy ads play several times an hour on every station of state-controlled radio, Namibia's most influential medium.

Elsewhere, apartheid's absurdity continues. Road crews have recently repaved perfectly smooth streets in white Windhoek, while in the black townships dust storms rise up at rush hours when trucks and taxis roar over the unpaved roads. The AG still controls the treasury, and many fear he will devise costly projects—such as the non-stop police public-relations campaign—that will leave the cupboard bare for the new SWAPO government.

Namibian independence will focus southern Africa's gaze exclusively on Pretoria,

which will be isolated among hostile neighbors. Nujoma has pledged that Namibia will join the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference, the anti-apartheid economic cooperative. His visits to Lusaka, Zambia, to address the Front Line States two days after the election results were announced suggest he will join the six other nations.

Nujoma must tread warily, however, because Namibia currently imports 75 percent of its goods and services from South Africa, and Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep-water port, remains part of South Africa. The bay's transport link, called Namibia's umbilical cord, will aid South Africa's continued stranglehold on regional trade. The bay's return could make Namibia a service link to the landlocked Copper Belt countries of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Zaire, while the Benjuela railway in Angola and the Beira corridor railway in Mozambique remain inoperable because of destabilization by South African-backed guerrilla forces.

The bay is also a military lily pad for the South African army, being an easy jump to Angola or back inside Namibia. South Africa keeps between 4,000 and 10,000 troops in Walvis Bay, plus 1,500 that were recently withdrawn from Namibia. SWAPO demands that the bay be returned to Namibia, but South Africa seems intent on a lease arrangement. The U.N. Security Council sides with SWAPO and will probably take up the matter after independence.

Even without Walvis Bay, Namibia has the potential to develop a strong economy. South Africa leaves a well-built infrastructure unscarred by war. The multinational diamond and uranium companies will now be forced to pay taxes rather than just cite deductions. The exotic landscape, the cool Atlantic beaches and Namibia's Etosha Wildlife Park should attract considerable tourist revenue. Africa's last colony could become a model nation after independence.

For that to happen the peace must hold. With Namibia's tribal divisions strained by apartheid, South Africa could find a willing military surrogate if the constitutional assignment raises tensions and leads to frustration, instead of creating a consensus as now seems probable. Since nationalism and unity are so new to Namibia, the political order will remain fragile. SWAPO appears to recognize the delicate moment for what it is: a chance to beat the odds that independence will lead to internal conflict, as has been the experience in so much of Africa. □

Eric Gravley is on assignment in Namibia.

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NEW YORK, NY January 13-14

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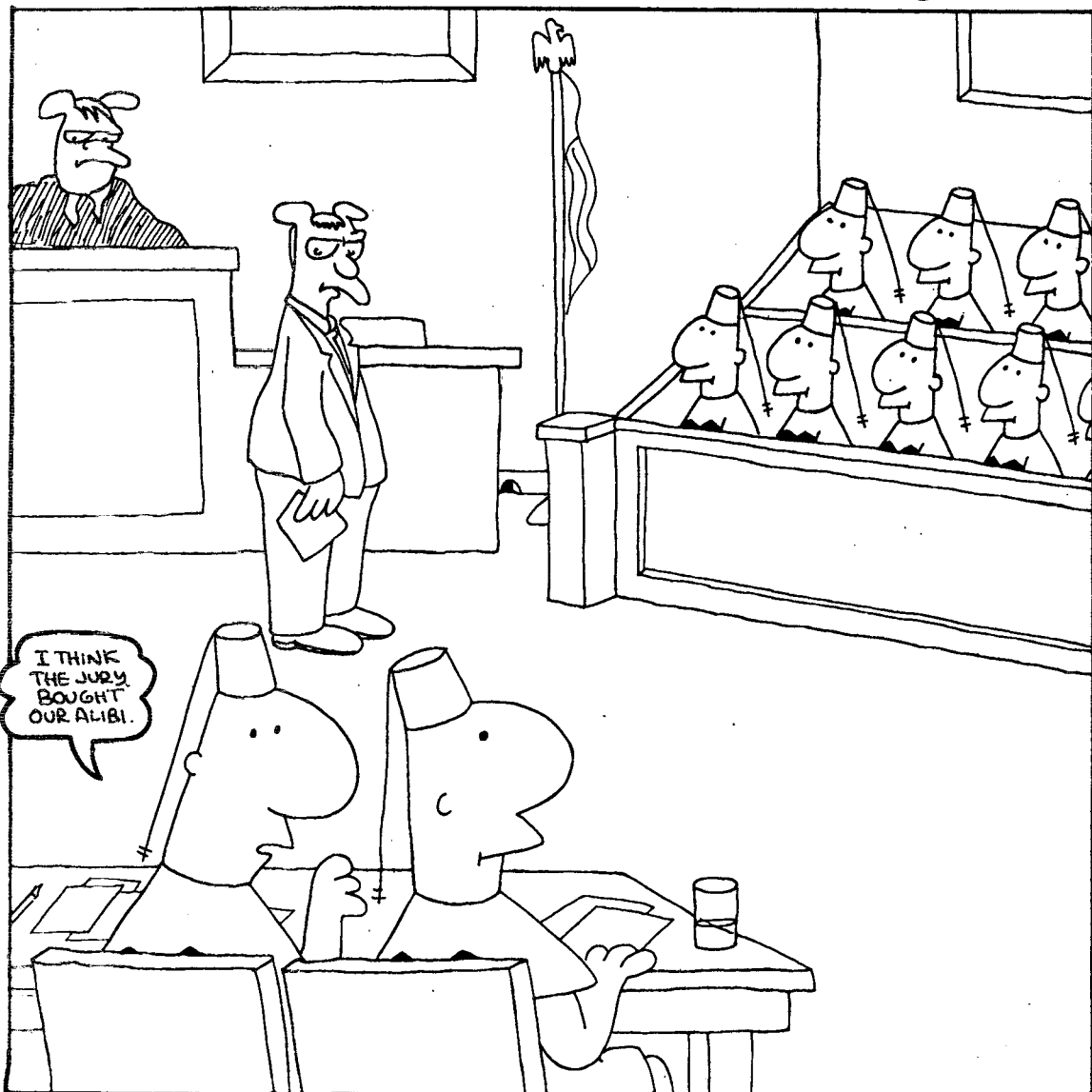
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W BY MURRAY L. BOB
 HY ARE ADULTS SPENDING MORE TIME playing games, while the young play less than at any time since the '50s? The games adults are indulging in offer some clues. They tend to be either simple, relatively non-competitive TV- and movie-derived party games, or else pop-psychology offerings of the tell-all type.

The game "Adverteasing" tests trivia players' "knowledge" of slogans, jingles and commercials. Fast food for the mind, this game has a "just open the box and play" character. You have neither to sit down nor pay attention. Indeed, you can do several other things while playing. "Dr. Ruth's Game of Good Sex" and "A Nightmare on Elm Street" depend on mass-media tie-ins for their appeal, while "Scruples" has you tell fellow partygoers about your most intimate "relationships."

Adults just wanna have fun: The speed and ease with which we learn these games and their brief duration reflect a push-button culture concerned with convenience rather than challenge. Contrast almost any recently devised game with chess, which takes you out of yourself because it demands close attention, and you will see what I mean.

Pop-psychology games mirror the narcissism of the "me" decade. On the other hand, games like "Pictionary" are party games—thus, the self-absorption is not solipsistic. People do socialize. But the undemanding character of the play, its focus on the personal and on "having fun," make winning and losing less important. Like the mass media that inspires so many of them, these games are designed to entertain rather than to challenge.

A spokesperson for Parker Brothers says, "Thirty years ago games were considered childish. Today ... it's become perfectly acceptable for adults to play games." Does this mean that now that games have become childish, adults are more apt to play them? Are adults becoming childish, while children turn adult? It almost seems that way when we learn that college students, who make up a big part of the market for board games, are now increasingly saying that they "don't have time" to play or that they are "into studying."

The clinical psychologist A.S. Longo, developer of the game "Red Letter," says, "Basically we're all out of control in the work environment. When you play a game, the structure of the game gives you control. You understand the parameters." In that context, the contrasting behaviors of working adults and college students vis-à-vis games becomes more explicable, as does the reversal in their respective attitudes over the last three decades.

If work is more "out of control" than it once was, it is understandable that workers will crave the structure that can be found in safe, predictable games. Today's games are entertaining and non-adversarial enough to offer relief from the pressures of increasingly competitive and unpredictable work environments, where the philosophy seems to be that "rules are for fools" or are made only to be broken, bent or stretched.

Unruly reality: By contrast, college students, though worried about their futures, presently have relatively safe, structured and subsidized lives. They have less need now for the release that games bring. Legitimate career concerns lead them to believe they haven't time to play around and had better study instead. Thus, the same economic uncertainty that makes adults flee from reality

WHAT'S IN A GAME?

FALL OUT OF BED Hold

- Play against one other couple. The male loses 2 Arousal Points, the female loses 1 Arousal Point.

GONORRHEA SCARE Play Immediately

- All players lose 2 Arousal Points.

TELEPHONE CALL FROM MOM Play Immediately

OW! THAT HURT! Play Immediately

- You and your partner each lose 1 Arousal Point.

SEXUAL DEVICE Play Immediately

- You and your partner gain 3 Arousal Points, which you can split up as you wish. You can move your Arousal markers up or down the Arousal Tracks.

FLU ATTACK Play Immediately

- You and your partner each lose 1 Arousal Point.



into simple games makes students turn from games to preparation for a threatening reality. For the adult the flight is from real uncertainty to playful structure; for youth it is from the temporary safe structure of playland to preparedness for a Hobbesian war of all against all.

One may quarrel with such perceptions, but since feelings are facts, they should be taken into account—and not only by the marketing mavens of gamesmanship. The pressures on the young may be greater and begin earlier than at any time in the last 40 years: get good grades, get into the right schools, meet the right people, make career decisions

in order to do well in a job market more mercurial with every passing decade. It isn't just in teaching and engineering that personnel shortages change to surpluses every four years; the same thing holds true of stockbrokers, doctors and other professions. And socio-economic uncertainty isn't confined to jobs: affordable housing is notorious by its absence, marriages are more than ever a gamble and, as a consequence, families have assumed almost unrecognizable and incomprehensible shapes—by the standards that used to prevail.

But it isn't just students who have problems. Poor working stiffs have to deal with

the reality that the factory, business or service that employs them may be sold out from under them virtually overnight, jeopardizing all aspects of their existence. Workers must come to terms with a situation wherein competitors from across the globe are more of a menace than those half a mile away. Nor are those in public employ more secure, subject as they are to the vagaries of an increasingly irrational budget process at every level of government.

It's easy to see why many adults choose to spend their lives playing games, since games are being played with their lives.

Murray L. Bob is a writer in Jamestown, N.Y.